This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

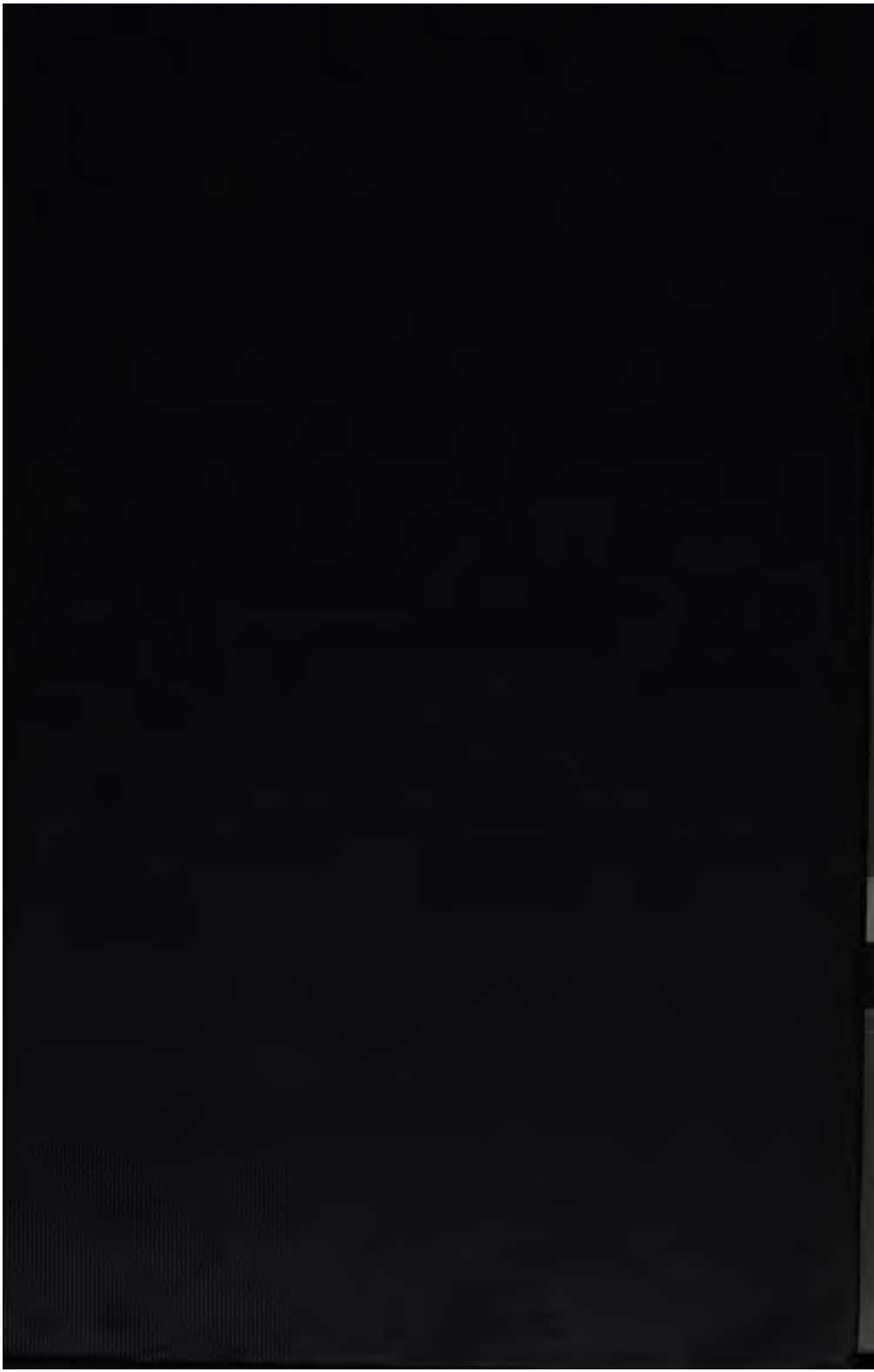
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



Ja 720.4

Harvard College Library

FROM

World Peace Foundation
Boston

Ja 0720.4

Harvard College Library

FROM

World Peace Foundation
Boston

Library of Christian Cooperation

Edited by

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND

General Secretary

of the

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Volume I. The Churches of Christ in Council—prepared by Charles S. Macfarland

Volume II. The Church and International Relations: Parts I and II—prepared by Sidney L. Gulick and Charles S. Macfarland

Volume III. The Church and International Relations: Parts III and IV—prepared by Sidney L. Gulick and Charles S. Macfarland

Volume IV. The Church and International Relations: Japan —prepared by Charles S. Macfarland

Volume V. Christian Cooperation and World Redemption—prepared by Charles S. Macfarland

Volume VI. Cooperation in Christian Education—prepared by Henry H. Meyer

Being the Reports of the Council and its Commissions and Committees to the Third Quadrennial Meeting at St. Louis, Mo., December, 1916

Published for the

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

by the

MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT

NEW YORK

VOLUME IV.

THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS JAPAN

Report of the Commission on Relations with Japan

Prepared by
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND
Secretary of the Commission

Published for the
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
by the
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
NEW YORK

LETTER OF TRANSMISSION

To the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:

Your Commission on Relations with Japan was established in 1914. The subject matter with which it has dealt and the work it has already accomplished have proved so important that in addition to the immediate report of the commission which contains the actions for which it assumes responsibility there have been added in the appendix the more important pamphlets prepared by Dr. Gulick. These pamphlets give information in regard to American-Asiatic problems and the suggestions he has been making as to principles and policies which he believes will be helpful in their solution. This volume accordingly, with its complete bibliography on American-Japanese relations, constitutes a distinct contribution to the discussion of the new and difficult situation confronting the United States through her increasingly intimate contact with the peoples of the Far East. These are matters and problems that immediately concern the entire Christian constituency of the United States. Unless they familiarize themselves with the problems involved and insist that Christian principles shall dominate over selfish economic interests in relation to our international policies and legislation, the establishment of the kingdom of God in its world-wide aspects will be impossible.

The great task laid upon the American churches of this generation is to Christianize America's international relations, policies, and practises.

Respectfully submitted,

HAMILTON HOLT,
Chairman.

COPYRIGHT, 1917, BY
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	Memorials from Japan	1
II.	Establishment of the Commission	5
III.	Important Actions	8
IV.	Embassy to Japan	11
V.	Significant Letters	17
VI.	Report of the Embassy	24
VII.	Labor Delegates from Japan	30
VIII.	Dr. Gulick's Investigations in the Hawaiian Islands	34
IX.	Dr. Gulick's Visit to the Pacific Coast	35
X.	Resolutions of the Commission	38
XI.	Enlargement of the Commission	41
XII.	General Observations	43
XIII.	Important Conferences	44
XIV.	Concluding Observations	63
APPENDIXES		68
I.	The American-Japanese Problem	68
II.	A New Immigration Policy	87
III.	Asia's Appeal to America	105
IV.	The Responsibility of Pastors and Educators	119
V.	Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem	127
VI.	America and the Orient, A Constructive Policy	159
VII.	The Pacific Coast and the New Oriental Policy	269
VIII.	The American-Japanese Treaty of 1911	295
IX.	The California Anti-Alien Land Law	299
X.	A Résumé of the Diplomatic Conferences and Correspondence between Japan and the United States Relative to the Anti-Alien Land Law	301
XI.	Official Communications from Japanese Organized Labor to the California State Federation of Labor and to the President of the American Federation of Labor	309

Jap 120.4

Mid Peace Foundation
Boston

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in Japan, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the Federated Missions of Japan have been for several years cultivating a relationship of mutual esteem and practical cooperation.

It was, therefore, natural that American missionaries in Japan should express to the American Federal Council their concern regarding relationships between the two nations.

The procedure leading up to the appointment of the commission was as follows:

I.

Memorials from Japan

A message was received from American missionaries in Tokyo, formulated under the date of April 24, 1913:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES OF TOKYO, YOKOHAMA, AND VICINITY, APRIL 24, 1913

As American missionaries resident in Tokyo, Yokohama, and vicinity, we have viewed with deep solicitude the news concerning the proposed land legislation in California, and deprecate any discrimination against the Japanese lest it mar the historic friendship between Japan and America, and work injury to both countries; therefore,

Resolved, **That we appeal to our missionary constituency in the homeland, to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,**

Ja 5720.4

Harvard College Library

FROM

World Peace Foundation
Boston

The entire problem is, however, one of great intricacy, as we well know, hence our suggestion that a commission be appointed to study it carefully from the Christian standpoint and to devise ways and means for its solution.

Praying for rich blessings on the entire work of the federated churches, we are, on behalf of the Japan Mission of the American Board,

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) SIDNEY L. GULICK
(Signed) D. C. GREENE

The following resolutions were adopted by the Japan Mission of the American Board at its annual meeting, June 3, 1913, in regard to the relations of the United States of America and Japan:

Whereas, The universal establishment of the kingdom of God requires the attainment of right relations between nations on a basis of justice and equality, and

Whereas, The effective proclamation of the gospel of the kingdom in Japan depends closely on the maintenance of friendly relations between the peoples of Japan and the United States, and

Whereas, The presence on the Pacific Coast of large numbers of Japanese laborers is the cause of difficulties that from time to time give rise to discriminating race legislation tending to disturb the historic friendship of these two countries, and

Whereas, Unfriendly race legislation is likely to be repeatedly attempted so long as the difficulty is not met by some thoroughgoing solution; therefore,

Resolved, That this mission appeals to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, suggesting

(1) That it appoint a commission to study this whole question in its relation to the teaching of Christ, and

(2) That it seek to rally the Christian forces of the United States for the solution of this problem and for the promoting of such measures as are in accord with the highest standards of Christian statesmanship.

II.

Establishment of the Commission

Later in the year Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, for twenty-six years a missionary of the American Board, came as the representative of these bodies and appeared before the executive committee of the Federal Council at its meeting in Baltimore, December 3 to 5, 1913. After full consultation with Dr. Gulick the following action was taken:

"We recommend that the chairmen of the Commissions on Peace and Arbitration and on Foreign Missions be requested to appoint nine members of their respective commissions, who, together with them, will act with the administrative committee as a preliminary committee to consider the overtures from the missionaries in Japan and make a report to the executive committee."

Meanwhile a supplementary memorial was received as follows:

Office of the Secretary
2242 Seventh Avenue, Oakland, Cal

To the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
(Through the committee having the matter in charge):

The standing committee of American workers in Oriental missions on the Pacific Coast warmly endorses the suggestion of American missionaries in Japan that the Federal Council establish a commission to visit Japan bearing greetings from the Christian churches of America and seeking to develop that mutual acquaintance which shall establish cordial relationships particularly between the Christian people of the two countries.

We suggest that the commission include a Christian Japanese resident in America, and that its members make a special study, among other things, of the attitude of the Japanese in regard to emigration to America and of the influence upon the social, economic, and religious life of Japan of the Japanese residents in America or who have returned to Japan after residence in America.

(Signed) A. Wesley Mell, *President*
(Signed) George W. Hinman, *Vice-President*
(Signed) Milton S. Vail, *Secretary*
Executive Committee

I hereby certify that the above is an exact copy of the action of the standing committee at its last meeting in November, 1913.

(Signed) MILTON S. VAIL,
Secretary

San Francisco, Cal., November 28, 1913

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, D.D., New York City

Immediately after the meeting of the executive committee, a temporary committee of three, consisting of Robert E. Speer, W. B. Millar, and the general secretary of the Federal Council, was appointed, under whose direction arrangements were immediately made for Rev. Sidney L. Gulick to speak before representative bodies in various parts of the country. Dr. Gulick also visited Washington and interviewed President Wilson, Secretary of State William J. Bryan, and several senators. Dr. Macfarland also waited upon President Wilson and acquainted him with our procedure, and introduced Dr. Gulick to leading officials of the American Federation of Labor in Washington.

Meanwhile the joint committee held several meetings, at the first of which a committee of three, consisting of Dr. Speer, Rev. Frank Mason North, and Rev. Frederick Lynch, was appointed to arrange with Dr. Gulick for the continuation of his work, and another special committee, consisting of Dr. North, Dr. Lynch, Dr. Speer, Rev. Albert G. Lawson, and Dr. John R. Mott, was appointed to prepare a report with recommendations on the whole matter.

The full joint committee then met on April 17, and the following action was taken:

Resolved, That in response to the memorials of bodies of missionaries in Japan, submitted to the Federal Council, there be appointed, on behalf of the Federal Council, a commission of nine or more, whose general scope of service shall be to study the entire question of the application of the teachings of Christ to our relations with Japan, and to promote such influences and activities as shall lead to the right relationships between the peoples of these two nations.

At the same time Dr. Gulick's work was also authorized. At the final meeting of the joint committee on April 30 a "Commission on Relations with Japan," was elected, consisting of the following members:

Rev. Charles R. Brown, Dean of Yale Divinity School.
Professor Charles R. Henderson, of Chicago University.
Hamilton Holt, Editor of the Independent.

Rev. Albert G. Lawson, Acting Chairman of the Administrative Committee.
Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
John R. Mott, Secretary of the World Student Christian Federation.
Rev. Frank Mason North, Chairman of the Executive Committee.
Robert E. Speer, Chairman of the Commission on Foreign Missions.
Rev. William I. Haven, Chairman of the Administrative Committee.
Bishop E. R. Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, of New York University.
Rev. Frederick Lynch, Secretary of the Church Peace Union.
Rev. Doremus Scudder, Pastor of the Union Church, Honolulu, Hawaii.
President George E. Vincent, of the University of Minnesota.
Hon. Amos P. Wilder, Executive Secretary of the Yale Foreign Missionary Society, and recently Consul at Shanghai, China.
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Secretary, ex-officio.

At subsequent meetings of the Commission on Relations with Japan, Dr. Gulick was engaged to serve as the representative of the commission and the following were elected as an executive committee: Messrs. Haven, Holt, Jenks, Lynch, and Speer. Various subcommittees were appointed and provision was made for the necessary financial support of the commission.

III.

Important Actions

It was voted that the president of the Federal Council, Professor Shailer Mathews, be selected as the ambassador to the churches of Japan, to make his visit at such time as might be found most opportune and advisable, and that Rev. Charles E. Jefferson be requested to serve as alternate in case President Mathews should be unable to fulfil the mission. It was also voted that the administrative committee of the Federal Council should request Rev. Frank Mason North and Rev. William I. Haven to act with and support President Mathews in connection with his visit to Japan.

The executive committee and the various subcommittees met at frequent intervals and followed closely the work committed to them. Professor H. A. Millis, of the University of Kansas, was secured to visit the Pacific Coast to make a special study of the Japanese situation. His report, by action of the Commission on Relations with Japan, was published early in 1915. There has been large demand for this book, it being generally regarded as a valuable and authentic setting forth of the situation on the Pacific Coast.

Dr. North and Dr. Haven, who visited the Orient in the fall of 1914, were engaged, so far as their other duties allowed, in securing such information as would assist the Commission and prepare for its future work.

Rev. Doremus Scudder, of Honolulu, was invited to come to the United States, and was here for two months (October and November, 1914) engaged in furthering the work of the commission, and speaking on behalf of good-will between Japan and America.

Dr. Gulick obtained ready access to the churches all over the country, and was also constantly invited to address chambers of commerce, business men's organizations, and educational institutions.

In December, 1914, the commission adopted the following petition:

AN APPEAL TO CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES FOR AN ADEQUATE ORIENTAL POLICY

The awakening of Asia and her rapid acquisition of important elements of Occidental civilization inaugurates a new era in world-history, in which Asia is to play a new and increasingly important role. Whether that role shall be one of peace, good-will and mutual cooperation, or one controlled by increasing suspicion and fear between the East and the West, will depend largely on the attitude of the Western nations themselves.

It has seemed to many of our citizens who have become familiar with the question raised by this more intimate and ever increasing contact with the Orient that the United States might well adopt a more adequate Oriental policy. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Commission on Relations with Japan, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, urge upon Congress and upon the people of the United States the importance of adopting an Oriental policy based upon a just and equitable regard for the interests of all the nations concerned, and to this end suggests that the entire immigration problem be taken up at an early date, providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question (such as the limitation of immigration, and the registration, distribution, employment, education, and naturalization of immigrants) in such a way as to conserve American institutions, to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition, and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the people of all nations.

(Signed)

CHARLES R. BROWN
HAMILTON HOLT
WILLIAM I. HAVEN
CHARLES R. HENDERSON
E. R. HENDRIX
JEREMIAH W. JENKS
ALBERT G. LAWSON
FREDERICK LYNCH
FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
JOHN R. MOTT
FRANK MASON NORTH
DOREMUS SCUDDER
ROBERT E. SPEER
GEORGE E. VINCENT
AMOS P. WILDER
SIDNEY L. GULICK
Representative
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND
Secretary of the Commission

The commission made a report of its work to the executive committee at its session in Richmond, Virginia, December 9-11, 1914, which was approved.

At the meeting of the executive committee in Columbus, Ohio, December 8-10, 1915, the commission reported its work for the year as follows:

The work of this commission divides clearly into three significant measures: first, the sending of the Christian embassy to Japan; second, the investigation on the Pacific Coast by Professor H. A. Millis; and third, the coming of the labor delegates from Japan.

IV.

The Christian Embassy to Japan

In accordance with the arrangements made by the executive committee, President Shailer Mathews and Dr. Gulick proceeded to Japan in the early part of the year. It is not necessary to report their mission in full as it has appeared in a special report entitled, "Report of the Christian Embassy to Japan."

They bore the following

Letter from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to the Churches of Christ in Japan.

GREETING:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, on behalf of its thirty constituent denominations, has delegated two of our most honored and beloved representatives to convey to you the assurance of our love unfeigned and of our prayers in your behalf.

Professor Shailer Mathews, D.D., is the Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, an author widely known among us, and for this quadrennium, president of the Federal Council.

The Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D., needs no introduction to you, for he has been a missionary in Japan for many years. Since his return to America upon his furlough, he has been invited to our most prominent pulpits, has secured a hearing for the cause of Japan by the foremost men of our nation, and returns to you not only as your brother, but entrusted with the duty of representing with Dr. Mathews, this Federal Council. We are thus sending to you those who are well qualified to speak for us.

We beg to assure you, dear brethren, of the interest with which we have noted the recent history of Japan, that ancient and venerable nation with its notable achievements in the arts and sciences. With eager hand you have grasped what other peoples could offer for the enrichment of your life, and in turn you have contributed to the life of the world the inspiration of your fine enthusiasm. You have felt the stimulation of ethical ideals, the transcendant significance of moral values. In the industrial, intellectual and moral fields of your activity, America has noted your unwearied progress.

But our deepest interest and sympathy have been evoked by the numbers of those who have been reaching out eager hands to God. Beyond all else the spectacle of so many in Japan, seeking after a deeper and stronger spiritual life, has moved and still moves our hearts. It is with such sympathy toward you, beloved brethren, that we send our messengers to you.

We believe that the religion of Jesus makes its largest possible contribution to the peace and uplift of the world, not when it undertakes by ecclesiastical utterances and activities to solve the complex intellectual and practical problems of civilization, but rather when it leads men to the inner life of spiritual self-mastery and self-devotion, helps them to learn the privilege and joy of absolute trust in Christ our Lord, and enables them to appreciate the obligation of such loyal devotion to him as finds expression in holy and unselfish service of humanity.

We are sending these, our brethren, to tell you as no written word of ours can tell, the sincerity of our affection, the eagerness of our desire, and the steady persuasion of our hope that we all, of the East and of the West, shall be one in Jesus Christ.

We pray that in your land and in ours, faith shall have its satisfying vision of our Lord, that love shall be sanctified by his fellowship, and that our common life shall be broadened in its sympathies and beautified with his likeness.

May the God of love unite our hearts in the bonds of holy sympathy, and bring us all into the joy of fellowship one with another through that diviner fellowship which is with the Father and with his Son, our Savior.

May peace and prosperity abide in all the homes of Japan. May your schools be centers of intellectual light and your churches centers of moral life and spiritual power. May believers be multiplied and all your land be blest by him who is the Light of the World, the Redeemer of men.

Now unto Him that is able to keep you from falling and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Savior, be glory and majesty, dominion and power both now and ever, Amen.

Your brethren in Christ:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,
General Secretary.

THE EMBASSY IN JAPAN

They reported, upon their return, as follows:

Sailing from San Francisco January 9, we spent one afternoon and night at Honolulu, where we received the first of our welcome banquets and made our first addresses. We landed in Yokohama Wednesday, January 27, and found that the committee of the Japanese Federation of Churches, in cooperation with the secretary of the Federated Missions, Rev. J. L. Dearing, D.D., had arranged a complete program for the entire time of our stay. This program, although continually expanded, was followed without material change. It involved addresses and sermons before the Japanese Christians, educational institutions and missionary bodies, in addition to banquets, receptions, conferences, and incidental engagements both social and literary. The total number of these engagements was two hundred and twenty-three, divided as follows:

Mr. Mathews' Addresses	89
Mr. Gulick's Addresses	42
Luncheons, Dinners, and Banquets	38
Receptions	11
Interviews and Conferences	43
	223

The reception given your representatives, not only by the pastors, Christians, and missionaries, but also by the highest representatives of the nation, official and unofficial, surpassed our most sanguine anticipations. Opportunities were given us for many unhurried conferences, both public and confidential. The addresses and statements on both sides, while evincing absolute good-will, were characterized by remarkable frankness and definiteness. Your commission returns from Japan with profound conviction of having been admitted not only to the inner circles of Japan's best life, but also to the real thought and desire of the responsible leaders of the nation.

The press of Japan, both English and vernacular, was most geenrous in its report of our movements and addresses. These editorials expressed a warmth of welcome and appreciation that was highly gratifying to all who are seeking to promote right relations between America and Japan.

Among the many receptions and banquets accorded the embassy, some were of special significance. Among these

may be mentioned the private interview of more than an hour with Count Okuma, and on a later day a formal luncheon and public reception, the latter occupying an entire afternoon. The guests included many of the leading officials and citizens of the Empire.

In the same category belong the luncheons given by Baron Kato, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Baron Shibusawa, banker and premier citizen of Japan; Dr. and Mrs. Nitobe, "the bridge across the Pacific;" and Baron Mitsui, a leading financier of Japan. The two farewell dinners given by the Peace Society and bankers of Yokohama and by the business men of Tokyo should not be omitted from this list of significant attentions and courtesies.

Also demanding special mention were the receptions and attentions given by the prefectural governors or mayors Sendai, Morioka, Kyoto, Osaka, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Okayama, Nagoya and Yokohama.

In all these cities the mayors and many other high officials also took important parts.

Baron Sakatani, Mayor of Tokyo, in spite of special duties incident to the circumstances of his impending resignation, gave us unstintedly of his time and counsel.

Peace societies, the Federated Churches of Japan, organizations, and missionaries in each of the cities visited took active parts in promoting the purposes of our embassy.

LETTERS AND PAMPHLETS

So widespread and increasing was the attention given the embassy by the press and public, and so intense was discovered to be the interest of the entire nation in the relation between Japan and the United States, that it seemed imperative to deepen and as far as possible to make permanent the impression made by our addresses and conferences. Especially important did we find it to disabuse the minds of the Japanese of any widespread hostility on the part of the United States.

For the furtherance of the purposes of our embassy, we therefore published several letters and three pamphlets.

Copies of the Federal Council "Message of Greeting to the Christians of Japan" were sent by mail to each pastor, evangelist, and missionary in Japan. This was accompanied by a brief covering letter by Mr. Mathews.

A letter by Mr. Gulick was also sent in the same envelope to the same persons, giving a brief statement of the way in which he had been led of the Lord to enter upon this work and of the steps by which the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America had decided to establish its Commission on Relations with Japan and to send to Japan a Christian embassy. The number of individuals to whom these letters went was nearly 3,500 (1,000 missionaries and 2,500 Japanese workers).

The preparation and publication of so much material required not only much time and attention from Mr. Gulick, but also much assistance. Mr. Tomita, for many years Mr. Gulick's personal literary assistant, gave his entire time for the month of our stay in Japan. Mr. Gilbert Bowles also gave himself unstintedly to the promotion of the success of our embassy.

Before leaving the United States your commission received in reply to a letter of inquiry some sixty-five letters from representative Americans. These letters seemed so significant of the real attitude of America as a whole toward Japan that after consulting prominent Japanese and Americans we decided to make these public. We selected twenty for publication in full; of the rest a summary was made with quotations of the most important sentences. The whole was published in the form of a pamphlet entitled "The Friendship of America for Japan." It contained introductory and supplementary sections and also the personal letters of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan to Mr. Mathews.

3,500 copies of this pamphlet were distributed in Japan, with a covering letter. Copies were mailed to 300 of the leading dailies, to all missionaries, and to nearly all pastors and evangelists. 500 additional copies were printed for use in America.

Before leaving California, in response to a letter of inquiry, replies were received from fifteen Japanese residents describing the improving personal treatment of Japanese in California. These letters in Japanese seemed so pertinent that these also were issued in pamphlet form, preceded by an introductory statement by Mr. Gulick. 3,500 copies of this pamphlet were also issued and distributed to the same persons in the same envelopes as the preceding pamphlet. Its title

is *Zai-bei Nihonjin ni tai suru Beikokujin no Taigu* ("American Treatment of Japanese in America").

We took to Japan some fifty copies of the Federal Council Bulletin No. 67, "Two Addresses on the American Japanese Problem." The supply was soon exhausted. The demand for more was so urgent that it seemed wise to print one thousand copies of this pamphlet to be distributed to American business men in Tokyo, Yokohama and Kobe, to American missionaries, and to certain selected Japanese leaders.

On account of certain statements made by Japanese, criticising articles published in America by missionaries in Japan, calculated, it was said, to promote among Americans anti-Japanese feeling, Mr. Gulick prepared, in consultation with Mr. Mathews, a personal letter which was sent to some 800 American missionaries.

V.

Letters of Greeting and Commendation

The following official letters from various church organizations in Japan also indicate with clearness the result of this commission and the impression created by the embassy in Japan:

FROM THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN JAPAN
TO THE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Tokyo, February 15, 1915.

The Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Greeting:

DEAR BROTHER:

We were much pleased to receive your letter addressed to the churches of our federation, brought by Dr. Mathews and Dr. Gulick as representatives of your Council.

We feel very thankful that these two brethren have been eagerly striving to discharge their mission ever since their arrival in our land by traveling throughout the country.

Our federation consists of ten Protestant denominations in Japan. Our membership is not much more than 70,000, but this number represents the majority of Protestant membership of Japan, which altogther amounts to 90,000.

The total number of Christians in Japan is less than 200,000, even including Roman Catholic membership.

For while the number of Christians in Japan cannot be said to be very large, those who are in favor of Christianity are several hundred per cent. more. In fact, Christian ethical ideas and the Christian view of life are sweeping through the mind of the educated class. Especially of late inquirers are coming from all classes.

The above-mentioned brethren were very heartily welcomed everywhere, both by the official class and by the people in general, and they have been given ample opportunity to express freely their convictions both in their addresses and in their conferences. This is

but one sign of the ripeness of time for the evangelization of the entire country.

Again, that the special three-year evangelistic campaign which started last year is to be an opportunity for a great revival, we do not doubt. Indeed, this is a great blessing which the Lord has shown to Japan, and which is also the fruits of self-sacrificing services rendered by the missionaries whom the churches in your country have sent us. For all these we are grateful.

It is, we believe, the responsibility of the two countries with their historic friendship that in grateful response to unbounded grace from on high, the one from this side of the Pacific, and the other from the other side, should contribute toward the peace of the world, and toward the happiness of entire humanity by bringing into light the fundamental principles of brotherhood of all nations.

The problem which of late years originated in one part of your country and now exists between Japan and America can only be solved by each other's better understanding, and by mutual practise of the "Royal Law."

We feel strengthened in our belief that the action of your Council in sending the two brethren is but a beginning of a new movement to this end.

May the rich blessings of God be upon the churches of your country.

(Signed) HIROMICHI KOSAKI
President, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in Japan
KIKUTARO MATSUNO
Secretary

FROM THE TOKYO MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION

Tokyo, Japan, February 9, 1915.

The Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, D.D., Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:

MY DEAR SIR:

It is with feelings of grief and the deepest concern that we contemplate those unhappy incidents of recent date which throw a cloud over the delightfully intimate relations which have always existed between our two countries, Japan and America. It does, indeed, seem to us that, without doubt, these are matters which ought to be easy of adjustment by the responsible diplomatic representatives of the two governments in the familiarity of friendly negotiation, and yet we cannot but feel that they should not be left entirely in the hands of politicians and diplomats. We believe that we Christians of

both nations, approaching such problems, as we commonly do, from the standpoint of justice and humanity, should do our utmost towards their solution. And it is for this reason that we are deeply impressed by the action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in sending to our country your president, the Rev. Dr. Mathews, and also the Rev. Dr. Gulick, at this time, and we wish hereby to express our deep appreciation of their fraternal visit.

We believe there is a responsibility resting upon the Christian believers in both countries to make increasingly real, as the years pass, the cordiality of those friendly relations which, with the blessing of God, have continued so happily during these fifty years and more of intercourse between us, and thus contribute to the peace of the world. This is why we Christians of the East and West alike should exert ourselves to awaken and foster a healthy public sentiment among our peoples with a view to a fundamental solution of our mutual problems, and we hope to put forth our best endeavors to this end.

The Tokyo Ministerial Association wishes to convey to your honorable body profound thanks for your Christian brotherliness, and we pray that the divine grace and benediction may abide richly upon you.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) KOTA HOSHINO

Chairman, Tokyo Ministerial Association

FROM THE CONFERENCE OF FEDERATED MISSIONS IN JAPAN TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

March 17, 1915.

The Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, D.D., General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:

DEAR DR. MACFARLAND:

We have been instructed by the executive committee of the Conference of Federated Missions in Japan to send you a letter of appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Drs. Mathews and Gulick on the occasion of their recent visit to Japan; and it is with great pleasure that we respond to the request.

As you are doubtless aware, it is no strange thing, either to the Japanese or the missionaries working among them, to welcome distinguished persons from America or other foreign countries, who come as representatives of various oraganizations or interests with

which people in this country are more or less concerned. We believe, however, we are safe in saying that never in the history of missionary work in this land has a deputation visited us who dealt with more important issues in a more satisfactory manner, and at a more opportune moment than the brethren to whom this letter refers.

The time spent in Japan was short, but to say that every moment of it was employed in the best possible way is, we believe, only the simple truth and we trust that the strength of the visitors was not overtaxed.

It is obviously inadvisable that we should go into details, but we might mention that to many of us the outstanding feature of the addresses delivered by your deputation was their manly, straightforward, Christian character. They were a fine exhibition of the Pauline principle, "speaking the truth in love," and it is believed that the Japanese generally were deeply and favorably impressed by this method of dealing with great issues. It is probable that Dr. Mathews, as a visitor for the first time to the country, could go further in the way of plain speaking than it might be advisable for the missionary residents here to do, but it may be that we shall find we ought to learn from him in this regard.

Please allow us, therefore, on behalf of our conference, to thank your Council for sending Dr. Mathews and Dr. Gulick to this country, and to assure you that their work, both here and in America, on behalf of the great object they have in view, will be followed and rememberd earnestly in prayer and thanksgiving by the missionary body represented by us and, we believe we may add without doubt, by a large number of our Japanese friends and brethren who have fellowship with us in the gospel.

With all good wishes, believe us to be

Yours sincerely in Christ Jesus,

(Signed) J. Cooper Robinson, *Chairman*

(Signed) John Lincoln Dearing, *Secretary*

FROM THE JAPAN CONTINUATION COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, TOKYO, 1915

75 Bluff, Yokohama, March 1, 1915.

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, D.D., Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:

Dear Dr. Macfarland:

I am instructed by the executive committee of the continuation committee in Japan to express to you our appreciation of the action of the Federal Council in sending to Japan Dr. Shailer Mathews and

Dr. S. L. Gulick, bringing the letter of good-will and Christian greeting from your Council. The good results likely to follow their visit are beyond calculation. We deeply appreciate the spirit which prompted the sending of these brethren to Japan, and desire to express our deep gratitude for their coming, representing as they do so large a company of the Christian people in America.

Yours very respectfully,

(Signed) JOHN L. DEARING
Secretary, Continuation Committee of Japan

VOTE OF THE PASTORS AND CHRISTIANS OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF OSAKA

To the Federal Council of Churches in America:

We, the pastors and Christians of all the Protestant churches in Osaka, Japan, express our sincere gratitude to the Federal Council of Churches in America for sending to us two distinguished Christian scholars, Doctors Shailer Mathews and Sidney L. Gulick, to promote a more friendly feeling between the United States of America and Japan.

We pray that our international problem may be solved by our common Father, in the name of his Son, Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, King of kings, and Lord of lords, who taught us the universal law of the brotherhood of man.

May the day soon come when to his name all glory and praise shall be ascribed.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) T. KUGIMIYA
Chairman of the Osaka Reception Committee

Osaka, Japan, February 21, 1915

VOTE OF THE CENTRAL MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, OSAKA, JAPAN

The following resolution was passed by a unanimous vote of the body of Central Japan Missionary Association, meeting in Osaka, February 22, 1915:

Voted, That we request Drs. Mathews and Gulick to use their influence with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to send, whenever feasible, a second commission to Japan to continue the timely work so well begun by their first commission.

(Signed) J. B. HAIL, *President*
(Signed) WM. H. ERSKINE, *Secretary*

FROM COUNT OKUMA

The farewell letters of Count Okuma are also of interest:

PREMIER'S OFFICE

Tokyo, February 19th, 1915.

MY DEAR DOCTOR MATHEWS:

Now that you have met no small number of representative men of Japan and have talked with them on their own ground, I trust you have found that there is in the bottom of their heart nothing but a feeling of genuine friendship toward America.

True that they all feel chagrined at the unfortunate anti-Japanese agitation which of recent years has found expression in the press and council of certain sections of the United States. So far, however, that has not disturbed their implicit faith in the high sense of justice and righteousness of the Christian people of America, from whose thought nothing is farther than wounding the susceptibilities of a friendly neighbor. On the contrary, thoughtful people of Japan felt it all the more imperative to cultivate a better understanding with American people, because they thought whatever difficulties there may exist in the present relations of the two countries, these were largely due to lack of such an understanding between them.

I warmly reciprocate the sentiment conveyed in the messages which you brought from your President and the Secretary of State to the people of my country and in so doing I am only interpreting the true feeling of my countrymen.

In bidding you farewell, I wish you, my dear Doctor, a success that is deserved by your noble endeavors in the interest of the common good of our two peoples.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) OKUMA

Dr. Shailer Mathews,
Imperial Hotel,
Tokyo.

PREMIER'S OFFICE

Tokyo, February 19th, 1915.

MY DEAR DOCTOR GULICK:

I send you herewith enclosed a copy of the letter which I wrote to your distinguished co-worker, Dr. Shailer Mathews.

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat how much your work, which has for its aim cultivation of a better understanding between the people of our two countries, is appreciated here in Japan. To us

it is especially gratifying that this important work is in the hands of a man like you, who, to say nothing of his high quality, has lived among us for so many years and understands us so thoroughly and therefore can tell his own people with authority what are our true aims and aspirations.

I trust that the message which you are now to take home with you will be one of genuine friendship and good-will from Japan.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) OKUMA

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick,
Imperial Hotel,
Tokyo.

A private letter of March 22 from Dr. J. L. Dearing, secretary of the Federated Missions, gives some light as to the impression left by the visit of the embassy.

It is too early yet to properly estimate the value of this embassy. I am sure, however, that I am not wrong in saying that it far exceeds in significance what the promoters anticipated, or what Dr. Mathews and Dr. Gulick dared to hope. Certainly, we in Japan have been amazed at the result. It scarcely seems possible that two men coming in an unofficial capacity as far as the government is concerned, could do so much to allay suspicion and develop a confidence on the part of the people generally toward America, which had become decidedly shaken.

The following excerpt from a note from President Ibuka to Dr. Gulick, dated March 24, confirms Dr. Dearing's statement:

There can be but one opinion in regard to the inestimable value of your recent mission. A flood of light has been shed on the problem. That is of course the first thing in order to the right solution.

VI.

Report of the Embassy

From the report of the embassy the following sections are also taken:

There were three classes of audiences to whom your representatives spoke, Japanese Christians and missionaries, students of higher schools and universities, and representative citizens.

(1) Opportunities to address the Christians of Japan were numerous. Wherever we went we were most cordially welcomed by the Christian workers, both native and missionary, and, whenever possible, we preached to Christian assemblies. Exclusive of all others who made up the various audiences, we met several hundred Christian workers and thousands of Christian men and women. To all of these we gave the "Message" of the Federal Council. We also, as already stated, mailed a copy of the same with accompanying personal letters to every Christian worker, Japanese or missionary. As far as possible we joined in evangelistic services and frequently were rewarded by a large number of inquirers.

The heartiness of the reception accorded us and the appreciation of the action of the Federal Council in sending the embassy appear in the resolutions in part first of this report.

(2) At least 15,000 students of the grade of higher schools and universities were reached by our various addresses. The subjects with which these young men were approached depended generally upon the choice of the director of the institution or on other circumstances, but as we were always received as the representatives of the Federal Council, each address was intended to set forth the need of moral and religious elements in the life of educated men, and in the treatment of international relations. There was constant opportunity to present American foreign policies and to emphasize the opportunity for educated men to share in developing better understanding between Japan and the United States, a better epoch in world politics.

(3) The governors and mayors organized public welcome-, mass-, and other meetings generally accompanied

by luncheons and banquets, in Tokyo, Sendai, Morioka, Kyoto, Kobe, Osaka, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Okayama, Yamaguchi, Matsuyama, Hiroshima, Nagoya, and Yokohama. In this way we met many thousands of representative citizens, including hundreds of bankers, educators, officials, and merchants. At such gatherings we spoke always by request directly upon the American-Japanese problem. We always spoke frankly concerning the difficulties involved both for the United States and for Japan, and Mr. Gulick described with some detail his general immigration policy. He explained carefully the distinction between alien laborers and bona fide immigrants; he also spoke frankly of the difficulties experienced by Californians with tens of thousands of Japanese peasants, ignorant of the English language as well as of American customs and morals. The reception given us was always cordial and the applause during and invariably at the close of the addresses was hearty. We were always introduced as representatives of the Christian churches of America, a fact which was everywhere spoken of as highly significant, and as ground for special welcome. The influence of such official recognition was said by many Christian workers to be of great value to the Christian community. These meetings received very considerable attention from the press.

The Christian embassy was thus brought to the attention of the entire Empire. We could have prolonged our tour for several weeks, speaking in other cities. Many persons in a position to know said that no representatives of religion had ever been accorded such a hearing in Japan.

FINDINGS

(1) We found the churches of Japan well organized for the three-year, nation-wide, union evangelistic campaign on which they are well started. Contrary to many misgivings that arose when "the great war" broke out the aggressive work of the churches has in no wise diminished. The campaign is being pushed by the leaders with high hopes of large results.

(2) Japan as a whole is increasingly conscious of the need of moral power and spiritual regeneration. Many leaders are looking with no little earnestness to Christianity for the satisfaction of the higher needs of the nation. It is evident that the Christian gospel has had a far wider effect

than would appear from the statistical record of church membership.

(3) We found a large degree of unity and a spirit of cooperation between the various churches and also among the various missions. With one or two exceptions, the principal Protestant churches of Japan have recently effected a federation and are learning how to act cooperatively. The thirty Protestant missions in Japan have, with but few exceptions, been federated for some fifteen years. The rivalry and antipathy of the denominations so often asserted by those who have little acquaintance with actual mission fields do not exist to any considerable extent with Japan.

(4) The Christian community in Japan is relatively small (about 90,000 Protestants, 60,000 Roman Catholics and 30,000 Greek Catholics), and is correspondingly sensitive to the objections frequently raised that Christianity is opposed to Japanese loyalty. For this reason it has not been active in attempting to influence international politics. At the same time we found a general determination on the part of Christian leaders to make the churches of Japan centers of international good understanding. We also found an equally general feeling expressed by Japanese officials of high standing that the difficulties between the two nations would be adjusted now that the Christians of America had taken up the matter. The constant reference to this latter feeling was one of the marked characteristics of addresses of welcome throughout the country.

(5) The attitude of Japan to the United States is primarily that of friendship. Repeated reference has been made in our hearing by officials and others to the help rendered by the United States to Japan from the days of Commodore Perry onward. The results of American policies prior to the Russo-Japanese War were such as to make Japan a friend of America.

(6) Yet anti-American feeling is developing in Japan. This feeling varies in the different classes and sections of the Empire, in some being hardly observable, and in others outspoken. To some extent it may be due to an apprehension as to the policy of the United States relative to China, and to a sense of rivalry in Asiatic commerce. But generally speaking, it is not indigenous in Japan but rises and falls with the anti-Japanese sentiment, utterances and legislation in the United States. On this latter point, leading Japanese are unanimous.

Further, its intensity depends upon the character of the

newspaper treatment of such news—too often colored by the desire of interested parties to involve Japan in trouble with the United States—as concerns directly or indirectly the relations of the two countries. The Japanese newspapers are widely read and exercise very considerable influence upon their constituencies. As they are in close touch through their correspondents with America, any anti-Japanese sentiment there expressed in public or in the press tends to be immediately transformed into anti-American sentiment in Japan.

The policy of the government to develop an intense national loyalty by specific instruction through its schools and in the army and navy makes the thousands of students and all military men particularly sensitive of any word or act that seems to injure Japan's national dignity or honor.

(7) Although among the higher official and really representative classes there is no hostility to the United States, there is a keen sense of injured honor, because of discrimination shown in America against the Japanese as Japanese. These intelligent men recognize to a noticeable degree the difficulties America faces in immigration and they disavow any desire for the removal of the existing limitations set by the Japanese government upon immigration to the United States. This should be clearly understood. Japan does not ask for free immigration to America. The Japanese government fully recognizes the right of the United States to control immigration and naturalization and has honorably and strictly maintained the "gentlemen's agreement" to prevent the emigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. Strictly speaking there is no longer any Japanese immigration question, for by the action of the Japanese government there is no new emigration of Japanese workmen to the United States.

(8) We were impressed with the simplicity, unanimity, and reasonableness of the view taken by representative Japanese statesmen, educators, business men, and editors, viz.:

The Japanese government has stopped the emigration of Japanese workmen to the United States, Canada and Mexico, out of consideration for American friendship, and wishes only the same sort of treatment for its subjects lawfully in America as is accorded those of other friendly nations. There is no question of immigration; there is only the desire for treatment free from invidious discrimination.

The issue thus raised is solely one of the humiliating treat-

ment of Japanese already in the United States by which the honor and dignity of Japan are felt to be involved. Such differential treatment as that given the Japanese in California and other Pacific Coast states cannot fail to weaken the traditional friendship of Japan for the United States. It is certainly shortsighted to alienate a nation whose friendship will be of determining significance during the period of reconstruction of the commerce and the politics of Asia, particularly of China. And what is vastly more serious, such treatment is contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy and of Christianity.

(9) So concerned have Japanese leaders become over the continued development in America of anti-Japanese agitation and legislation, actual and proposed, to the detriment of the historic international friendship, that Count Okuma, as President of the Japan Peace Society, has appointed to study the American-Japanese relations a committee of fifteen of the strongest leaders of the Empire. The American Peace Society of Japan has appointed a corresponding committee of fifteen. These two committees are to work conjointly and also separately.

(10) There is also a belief in Japan, especially among military and naval circles, that the United States has imperialistic ambitions in the East which are hostile to the development of Japan's interests. Strange as it may seem to Americans, there is a suspicion in Japan of America's aggressive ambitions in the Orient, akin to the suspicion of Japan felt in certain circles in America. These two feelings doubtless react upon and evoke each other, and neither will be allayed until each nation understands better each the other's fundamental problems and motives. As long as an "inevitable" war between the two countries is preached by the military and naval cliques on each side of the Pacific, and is urged as adequate ground for increased naval and military preparation, on the part of the United States, so long will misunderstandings and suspicions be magnified.

(11) While the leaders of Japan recognize that the situation in California may be traced to economic conditions, many of them assert that racial rather than economic motives are becoming paramount. This gives them serious anxiety because they are well informed as to race questions within the United States. This view is given further weight by Governor

Johnson's unanswerable argument that racial distinctions were not first made by the California alien land law, but by the federal law specifying those races that alone are eligible for citizenship by naturalization.

(12) In conclusion we return from Japan with a deepened sense of Christian opportunity and responsibility at this time of world crisis. The gospel must be applied to internationalism if the world is to be at peace. By giving justice rather than by demanding rights can nations remain friends. Churches must be more than local institutions interested in local souls; they must also be forces through which the spirit of God shall enable nations to follow the sacrificial calls of Jesus Christ. Not by diplomacy nor by militarism but only by genuine fraternity can the world secure that spiritual internationalism by which it can rise above the limits of nations and the bondage of traditions and of history. The ideals of foreign missions must be extended to this new opportunity. We must not only evangelize foreigners; we must evangelize our foreign policies.

VII.

Labor Delegates from Japan

Before the embassy left California for Japan Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the California State Federation of Labor, made the suggestion to Dr. Gulick that one important method for promoting mutual understanding and friendship between Japan and America was to arrange for the exchange of fraternal delegates by the respective working classes of the two countries. He assured Dr. Gulick that a "suitable" representative from Japan would be received by the labor unions of California and America. It was understood that effort should be made to see if any such delegate could be found.

Immediately upon arrival in Japan conference upon this matter was held with representatives of the Foreign Office, with a few leading citizens of Tokyo, and with men especially interested in the industrial and labor problems of Japan.

Unexpectedly favorable hearing was given to Mr. Scharrenberg's suggestion. Mr. Gulick accordingly instituted investigations and in time found two representatives of the labor movement whom he regarded as suitable persons to serve as fraternal delegates to visit the leaders of organized labor in the United States, Messrs. B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu, both of them Christians.

The Foreign Office in Japan after full consideration and personal meetings with the men selected, agreed to give them passports, if on returning to the United States and reporting the situation fully to Mr. Scharrenberg, he and Mr. Gulick felt confident that the coming of the fraternal delegates to America would be welcomed by organized labor.

On Dr. Gulick's arrival in California in April, 1915, the matter was fully considered with Mr. Scharrenberg and his endorsement was secured. A cablegram was accordingly sent to Tokyo, and in July, 1915, the two Japanese delegates reached San Francisco. Dr. Gulick was there to welcome them and to introduce them to Mr. Scharrenberg, who, true to his word, did all in his power, and most successfully, to give

the men a fair chance. Mr. Suzuki was so well acquainted with English that he was able to make quite effective speeches. In November, 1916, Dr. Gulick reported to the Commission on Relations with Japan, as follows:

"The coming from Japan of Messrs. B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu as representatives of Japanese labor, and their friendly reception by California labor unions and labor councils is an event of no little significance. The credit of the first suggestion for this is due to Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the California Federation of Labor, who has given them every opportunity for meeting the workers of California under favorable conditions. In spite of some opposition he was able to secure for them seats as fraternal delegates at the annual meeting of the California State Federation, held in October in Santa Rosa.

"Mr. Suzuki's addresses before California labor councils have been well received, particularly at San Francisco, and at the annual meeting of the California State Federation of Labor and also of the American Federation of Labor. This kindly attitude of California labor leaders to the fraternal delegates from Japan does not indicate any change in their opposition to Japanese labor immigration to California. It indicates rather their satisfaction in knowing that the fundamental principles of labor unionism are likely to make headway in Japan. In all their statements they are asserting repeatedly that their opposition to Japanese is based not on racial but on economic grounds.

"Great gain will be made in international relations when this position is clearly understood in Japan and consistently acted upon in America.

"The coming of the Japanese labor delegates to California is to be considered as one of the helpful results of our visit."

A few later items in this interesting development should be added at this point.

In September, 1916, Mr. Scharrenberg, addressing an audience in San Francisco of more than 4,000, was cheered heartily when he said:

"I used to think that danger might sometime threaten us from across the Pacific, but since meeting the fraternal delegates from Japan to the American Federation of Labor, I am convinced that the workers of Japan do not want war

with us any more than the workers of America want war with them."

At about the same time, at a meeting of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, Mr. Scharrenberg said, as reported, that "he felt the time had come for a more liberal attitude toward the Japanese and suggested that the time might soon come when they would be received into the unions."

Mr. Suzuki returned to Japan in December, 1915. He entered vigorously into a campaign of good-will toward Americans among the working classes, traveling more than 6,000 miles, and making over a hundred addresses in the important centers of the Empire.

He built up his labor organization in that time from 10,000 to over 30,000 and returned to the United States in September, 1916, bringing an invitation from Japanese organized labor to President Gompers to visit Japan with some representative from California to study labor conditions and to make suggestions for the improvement and better organization of labor in that land. These invitations are given in full in the appendix.

While preparing the final pages of this report word has been received of the action of the California State Federation of Labor at the annual convention held at Eureka early in October. The official reporter for the convention, writing personally, speaks as follows with regard to the situation:

"The convention seated Suzuki as a fraternal delegate. Objection was made by the laundry workers, which was a good thing, as it caused many delegates to take the floor and make strong pro-Japanese talks. The only delegates voting against seating Suzuki were the laundry workers.

"The convention by a unanimous vote and without debate instructed its executive council to investigate the feasibility of organizing the Japanese and to make a report on the subject one year hence. Many delegates from various crafts spoke in favor of organizing the Japanese.

"The convention also by a unanimous vote accepted the invitation to send a delegate to the anniversary celebration of the *Yu-Ai-Kai* at Tokyo next April. Paul Scharrenberg will probably be the delegate.

"A vote of thanks was given Suzuki for his splendid address.

"At every session of the convention there was more or less talk on the Japanese question. In fact, it was the paramount issue before the convention. There has been a wonderful change of sentiment toward the Japanese."

This movment of fraternity between Japanese and American labor is one that promises much and deserves attention.

VISIT OF A JANANESE PASTOR TO AMERICA

Another evidence of the growing Christian internationalism and the importance of developing group relationships between the nations, was the coming to America in the summer of 1915 of the Rev. D. Ebina, one of the prominent leaders of the Christian movement in Japan, for a score of years pastor of a self-supporting church for university students in Tokyo. He came under the auspices and at the expense of the Japanese Association of America—entirely Japanese—to do evangelistic work among Japanese upon the coast. This association feels that there is no more important factor for the promotion of right relations between Americans and Japanese than a real acquaintance on the part of Japanese with the essentials of Christianity. A profound and genuine mutual understanding between the two races depends in no small degree upon the development of common ethical and religious ideas and ideals. The Japanese Association accordingly, though an entirely secular body, seeks to promote, even by bringing Japanese pastors from Japan, wholesome relations between Japanese and Americans.

VIII.

Dr. Gulick's Investigations in the Hawaiian Islands

On its way to Japan the embassy had a single day at Honolulu which was filled to the full with interviews and meetings. Arrangements were then made whereby on his way back from Japan, Dr. Gulick should stop off for a two weeks' trip through the Hawaiian Islands in order to study the Japanese situation and the problem there.

This plan was carried out. Fifteen plantations were visited and full interviews were had with plantation managers, foremen, laborers, Japanese Christian pastors and teachers, Buddhist priests and teachers, and American, German, and Hawaiian men of influence and thought.

The one purpose of this extended trip and of these many conversations was to find out from those who have had long, direct, and responsible relations with Japanese, the results of their experience and thought, to get first-hand facts, to appreciate as fully as possible the problem of the Japanese in Hawaii as seen by these various individuals, chiefly Americans, but also Japanese, to bring all the facts and view-points to bear upon the larger problem of the international relations of the United States and Japan, and to consider whether additional acitivities are needed in Hawaii for the promotion of right international relations.

The results of that study were embodied in an informational report entitled "Hawaii's American Japanese Problem." It consisted of two parts, one "For Americans" and one "For Japanese," and is given in full in Appendix V. It not only described the conditions, but offered suggestions to both groups, American and Japanese, as to methods for solving the problems of the intercourse of the peoples in that extraordinary "melting-pot of the races."

IX.

Dr. Gulick's Visit to the Pacific Coast

In response to an invitation from the committee on international relations of the California State Federation of Churches, acceptance of which was recommended by the Commission on Relations with Japan, Dr. Gulick went to the Pacific Coast in July, 1915, and remained there until the middle of December. In March, 1916, he presented to the commission a report of his work *The Pacific Coast and the New Oriental Policy,* from which the following paragraphs are taken.

In California the addresses delivered numbered 94 all told, while in Oregon and Washington they numbered 74. Although I made San Fransisco my headquarters, three trips were made to Los Angeles and San Diego, and two to Seattle and the State of Washington. The final trip through Oregon and Washington occupied three weeks, closing December 14 at Walla Walla.

The major part of my time, was consumed in efforts to explain to individuals and to groups the nature of the policy and program by which the pending problem between the United States and Japan may be solved. In addition to describing in my addresses so far as the time limitations allowed, the main feature of the policy which I have personally suggested, I usually left with those interested, copies of two pamphlets entitled "Asia's. Appeal to America" and "The American Japanese Problem." So far as I was able to judge, all the audiences to which the proposed policy and program were presented with any degree of fulness where favorably impressed. No audience, however, was asked to give any expression of its judgment.

Since, however, it is needful that leaders of national llfe should give the policy and program serious consideration, from the middle of October and onward, I sought by letter and personal conversation to secure definite expressions of opinion. This effort brought a goodly number of personal letters and resolutions from those who may well be regarded as representations of the responsible citizenship of the Pacific Coast.

The full report of Dr. Gulick's work on the Pacific Coast will be found in Appendix VII.

SUMMARY OF THE SITUATION ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Dr. Gulick's summary of the situation on the Pacific Coast in the fall of 1915 is so brief and clear that it is here given in full:

"1. The general relation of the Americans and Japanese in California is gradually improving. Although the Japanese, many of them, have still much to learn in adapting themselves to their American environment, they have already made no little progress. The good qualities of the Japanese are more generally recognized. In consequence of these facts the mutual personal treatment is growing better. Japanese assure me that stone-throwing has practically ceased. The ability of increasing numbers of Japanese to speak English is no doubt an important factor.

"2. The number of Japanese who definitely desire to become American citizens was a matter of frequent inquiry. In spite of the common assertion by Americans that no Japanese would or could expatriate himself, I found it was not so. Both Japanese law and widespread popular opinion in Japan allow it, and not a few Japanese who have long resided in California, Oregon, and Washington, and plan to remain there permanently, desire the privilege. I found also many Americans who hold that, when duly qualified by adequate residence and education, Japanese would make excellent citizens.

"3. Many representatives of organized labor were much more open-minded and ready to consider, and even to endorse my general proposals than I had been led to expect by those who professed to know the mind and spirit of these men. This is especially true when they learn that the proposed policy will not only prevent the coming of large immigration from Asia, but will also rigidly restrict immigration from any land not already largely represented by naturalized American citizens.

"4. There is, however, opposition to the proposal by certain strong leaders of organized labor. It is based partly upon their comparative satisfaction with the effects of present Chinese exclusion laws and the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' with Japan, partly upon their failure to see need in our international relations for any change in our methods of dealing with Asiatics, and partly upon their belief that Asiatics, because

they are Asiatic, are inherently incapable of ever entering wholesomely into our democratic government, social institutions, or economic and industrial life. They fail, however, to see that the proposed policy provides more acceptably for the whole problem than does the present policy and method.

"5. The "New Oriental Policy," when understood, meets with the approval apparently of about eight or nine out of ten of the responsible citizenship of the Pacific Coast with whom I have met.

"6. In spite, however, of considerable hearty approval of the proposed New Oriental Policy, I found surprising hesitancy on the part of responsible groups to endorse and advocate the matter in any public way. It cannot be said that the people of California as a whole have yet heard or considered it. For this hearing it will doubtless be necessary that some strong group or political leader shall espouse the cause and secure for it wide backing.

"This no doubt will come in time as the new Orient becomes more familiar to our people and the need becomes more manifest of recognizing in our Oriental policy the new character and the awakening life of the Far East."

X.

Resolutions of the Commission

On receiving Dr. Gulick's report, the Commission on Relations with Japan and the administrative committee of the Federal Council took the following actions:

RESOLUTION BY THE COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

Resolved:

First, That we authorize the publication of the report of our special representative, Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, in regard to his work on the Pacific Coast during the autumn of 1915, and request the executive committee to make provision, if possible, for its wide circulation. We desire to place the information herein contained before our entire constituency for such help as it may afford in forming an intelligent opinion upon the important problem as to how we may incorporate in our relations with Japan the Christian principles of human brotherhood and good neighborliness.

Second, That we request the administrative committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to take such action as may seem wise to bring the report effectively before our constituent bodies.

(Signed) CHARLES R. BROWN
WILLIAM I. HAVEN
E. R. HENDRIX
HAMILTON HOLT
JEREMIAH W. JENKS
ALBERT G. LAWSON
FREDERICK LYNCH
FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
JOHN R. MOTT
FRANK MASON NORTH
DOREMUS SCUDDER
ROBERT E. SPEER
GEORGE E. VINCENT
AMOS P. WILDER
SIDNEY L. GULICK
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,
Secretary, Commission on Relations with Japan

Following this the whole matter was reviewed by the administrative committee of the Federal Council, which took the following action:

RESOLUTION BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Resolved: By the administrative committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America that the following statement be issued to the members of the constituent bodies of the Federal Council.

Two years have now elapsed since the appointment by the Federal Council of its Commission on Relations with Japan, which action, it will be remembered, was taken in response to a memorial from American missionaries in Japan. A notable work has been done by this commission, not only in Japan itself through the sending of our Christian embassy to that land a year ago, but also by the wide campaigns both before and after the embassy of our special representative, Rev. Sidney L. Gulick. Although much has been accomplished, much still remains to be done. We earnestly invite the serious attention of our entire constituency to the moral questions and the questions of Christian principle involved in the relationship of the United States with both China and Japan. These questions cannot be solved by diplomacy alone. They can be solved only by national application of the Golden Rule to our relations with these lands. While the Federal Council is concerned solely with the Christian principles involved and can assume no responsibility for specific legislative proposals, we urge. nevertheless, upon the leaders and the membership of our constituent bodies as Christian citizens the careful study of the proposals for comprehensive immigration legislation that have been worked out by Dr. Gulick, and also of any similar proposals looking to the solution of these problems in a way thoroughly honorable to the peoples concerned.

We regard it as of the highest importance in maintaining right relations through the coming decades with Japan and China that the United States shall pursue an Oriental policy, the fundamental principles of which shall be the just and equitable treatment of all races. To this end we suggest that Christian citizens in all parts of America urge their representatives in Congress to take up at an early date the entire immigration qūestion and provide for comprehensive legislation, free from race discrimination, covering all phases of the question (such as the limitation of all immigraton and the registration, distribution, employment, education, and naturalization of

immigrants), in such a way as to conserve American institutions, to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition, and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the people of all nations.

(Signed) WILLIAM I. HAVEN, *Chairman*
JOHN M. GLENN
HOWARD B. GROSE
FINIS S. IDLEMAN
ALFRED R. KIMBALL
ALBERT G. LAWSON
J. EDGAR LEAYCRAFT
RIVINGTON D. LORD
SHAILER MATHEWS
RUFUS W. MILLER
JOHN R. MOTT
FRANK MASON NORTH
E. E. OLCOTT
WILLIAM H. ROBERTS
ALEXANDER WALTERS

XI.

Enlargement of the Commission

At a meeting of the commission in the early part of 1916 it was decided that the number of members should be increased in the interest of wider geographical representation, and the commission is now constituted as follows:

Hamilton Holt, New York City
Professor David P. Barrows, Berkeley, Cal.
Rev. A. R. Bartholomew, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. A. H. Briggs, Los Gatos, Cal.
President S. P. Brooks, Waco, Texas
Rev. Charles R. Brown, New Haven, Conn.
President T. S. Clyce, Sherman, Texas
George I. Cochran, Los Angeles, Cal.
Rev. Stephen J. Corey, Cincinnati, Ohio
Hanford Crawford, St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk, Philadelphia, Pa.
President W. H. P. Faunce, Providence, R. I.
Professor H. H. Guy, San Francisco, Cal.
Rev. William I. Haven, New York City
H. J. Heinz, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Bishop E. R. Hendrix, Kansas City, Mo.
Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, New York City
Rev. H. B. Johnson, Berkeley, Cal.
President Henry C. King, Oberlin, Ohio
Rev. Albert G. Lawson, New York City
Rev. D. Clay Lilly, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. Frederick Lynch, New York City
Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Denver, Colo.
John R. Mott, New York City
President C. S. Nash, Berkeley, Cal.
Rev. Frank Mason North, New York City

Warren Olney, Jr., San Francisco, Cal.
Rev. Doremus Scudder, Honolulu, Hawaii
Fred B. Smith, New York City
Robert E. Speer, New York City
Rev. Sydney Strong, Seattle, Wash.
Hon. Henry W. Temple, Washington, D. C.
Rev. James I. Vance, Nashville, Tenn.
President George E. Vincent, Minneapolis, Minn.
Amos P. Wilder, New Haven, Conn.
Rev. L. B. Wolf, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, New York City, *Representative*
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, New York City, *Secretary*

XII.

General Observations

In addition to a strictly representative work, Dr. Gulick has also naturally interested himself in the whole problem of immigration which is involved, and has been permitted to render freely such information and to make without restraint such recommendations as might seem to him wise and helpful. The commission and the executive and administrative committees of the Federal Council, while expressing no judgment and taking no action upon these matters, have encouraged Dr. Gulick to place at the disposal of the people the results of his wide study and practical knowledge regarding the problems involved.

A statement regarding the work of the commission would be incomplete unless mention were made of the distinguished services rendered by Dr. Gulick since he was sent here three years ago by the missionaries in Japan. Dr. Gulick was for over twenty-five years one of the most honored missionaries of the American Board, widely known as a faithful missionary, a scholar, and a Christian statesman. He entered the service of the Federal Council with the warm approval of his denomination. Some intimation of his untiring service may be gained by consulting his various itineraries recorded in the annual reports of the Federal Council for the years 1914 and 1915.

This Commission has brought the whole question of American relations with the Orient before the people at a new angle and is creating a new atmosphere. Many other bodies have been brought, through the influence of the commission, to a similar consideration of the whole question, including chambers of commerce, women's clubs, and organizations of labor. Of these other bodies, however, the most important has been the World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches, with which the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration is, in the interest of International Christianity, working in the closest relationship of cooperation. The full report of this movement is given in the second volume of the report of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration.

XIII.

Important Conferences

At a widely representative conference of the American Council of the World Alliance held at Garden City, New York, in April, 1916, much thoughtful attention was given to "The Church and the Oriental Problem." Some of the individual utterances at the conference were as follows:

"The church has two great duties; one is to evangelize the Oriental nations; the other is to Christianize the relations sustained to these nations by the nations which are called Christian. These two duties are inseparable."

"We cannot reap right relationships out of false conceptions. Until we get our relations right between ourselves and the Eastern world it is vain for us to think that we can make our policies right."

"We have listened entirely too long to nonsense regarding chasms run across humanity that can never be bridged. We must believe that it is absolutely possible to establish relationships of genuine international good-will and affection between ourselves and the Oriental peoples."

"We have got to believe that nations can love one another even across the Pacific Ocean. The Christian church must set herself to lead in that affection. We must not content ourselves with projecting the duty into the distant future or looking at the platform that lifts it beyond the level of our immediate and practical duty."

"Superior theology is no excuse for inferior morality. If we have a clearer view of God than the Oriental nations, then we must judge ourselves by stricter standards than we apply to them." —Robert E. Speer.

"Surely we of all men ought to stand for the great conviction that there is only one race, and that is the human race."

"A Chinese delegate at the Edinburgh Conference stood before that great assembly and said, 'Men of the West, my nation has broken with its past, and we need your help in guiding our people into the new path.' What shall be our attitude in such circumstances? Shall we treat these other nations with jealousy? Shall we talk about the 'yellow peril?' You would find Asiatics talking about the 'white peril.' The pending question between our government and Japan illustrates what I mean."

"No one who is familiar with the trend of Japanese thought to-day is ignorant of the fact that intelligent Japanese feel that Japan has a grievance against the United States. I have no sympathy whatever with the notion that it is our duty to stand by everything that our country does, irrespective of its moral quality. Men have said, 'My country! May she ever be right; but, right or wrong, my country.' There is a sense in which that is true, but in the sense that the words naturally suggest, that is a pagan sentiment. I believe that the Japanese have a just grievance against the American people in the matter of their treatment in California. I do not say that I am in favor of unrestricted immigration, but the Japanese government does not ask for that. It is honorably carrying out the 'Gentlemen's Agreement.' The Japanese simply ask that their subjects who come to America shall be treated with justice, consideration and common decency that we would accord to other people."

"Let us remember that Jesus Christ not only taught an ideal, but died for it. Surely it is our place as his followers to see if we cannot attain to it. The foreign missionary enterprise is an earnest effort to exemplify this ideal. It is the antithesis of war. It stands for those relations between nations which would make war between them impossible. It says: 'Other peoples are our brethren. We do not need to arm ourselves against them, but to go to them with altruistic and helpful acts. If the church is ever to vindicate its mission as the bearer of peace and good-will to men, it must apply itself to this task with renewed effort. We must write the name of Jesus large on the world's sky, make the voice of Jesus the deep undertone of human life. We must apply the spirit of Jesus to these international as well as to the social and individual relationships.'"—Arthur J. Brown.

"America's crucial problem with Asia lies, not in Asia, but in America. Not our diplomacy in the Far East, but our treatment of Asiatics in the Far West is to be determinative of our Oriental relations."

"The problem of world peace is not primarily the problem of treaties, arbitration provisions, and Hague Courts, but of mutual good-will and confidence among the nations. How can this spirit be developed? If Asia fears and distrusts Christendom because of continued injustice, Asia will arm. As Asia arms, Christendom will increasingly fear and distrust her. The way to establish good-will and mutual confidence between the East and the West is for Christendom to act toward Asia in right and helpful ways. We must voluntarily do her justice, keep our treaties, and deal with all Asiatics who come to our lands in ways that embody the Golden Rule."

"The international relations of nations, as of individuals, must be essentially Christian if there is to be world peace and wholesome development. Nations must not only be just and honest, but they must be kindly and helpful in their international relations. They must regard and treat each other on the basis of universal human brotherhood. This and this alone will evoke real good-will and mutual trust."

"On the right attitude of the West to the East hangs the fate of the whole world for centuries to come."—Sidney L. Gulick.

The following action was also taken by the Garden City conference:

Resolved, That the American Council of the World Alliance urge upon the churches:

(a) Careful study both of the Oriental problem itself and also of the proposals for a fundamental solution which have been offered, including comprehensive immigration legislation free from race discrimination;

(b) Such action as may seem wise for embodying in local and national legislation, and in our international relations, the Christian ideal of universal brotherhood, guaranteeing to all peoples, small and great, east and west, the enjoyment of just and equal treatment.

Resolved, That this conference earnestly approves all efforts so to shape our pending immigration measures that they shall recognize existing agreements with other nations, and avoid such actions as would tend to imply distrust of such nations and impugn their honor. We deeply deplore all efforts that create or imply such distrust of those agreements especially when the nations concerned have reassured us of their intention to keep them faithfully.

In the light of this principle, we deprecate the utterances by or through the public press which would tend to embitter the feelings and injure the relations of good-will now existing between America and the Asiatic and other nations, especially such as, without evidence and by gratuitous assumption, imgugn the motives and purposes of these nations in their relations with our nation.

This conference of the American Council of the World Alliance was attended by about 150 of the most representative bishops, pastors, and laymen from all parts of the country, that could possibly be convened. It is doubtful whether a more representative conference of the kind has ever been held.

In June, 1916, the commission called a conference of missionary leaders and laymen, at which overtures from leading Christians on the Pacific Coast were received, looking toward

the holding of a widely representative conference in or near San Francisco in the near future for the purpose of considering relationships between nations on both sides of the Pacific, and a committee has been appointed to give thoughtful consideration to this proposal.

A CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN ORIENTAL PROBLEMS

On September 26, 1916, a conference was held in New York, called by the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration. The report as published is herewith given in full.

Report of the Conference

ON

AMERICAN ORIENTAL PROBLEMS

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

The American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches

AND

The Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

New York City, September 26, 1916

FOREWORD

An important Conference on American Oriental Problems has recently been held that should be widely known. It was composed of seventeen returned missionaries from China and Japan and twenty-two American citizens closely connected with missionary work in the Orient.

It has been thought best to condense this report just as far as possible, while still giving the main results reached. The paper presented by Dr. Gulick covers so fully the entire range of the topics discussed that it is given in full at the close of this report.

WILLIAM B. MILLAR,

November 15, 1916, New York *Recording Secretary.*

I. THE PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

The following paragraphs constitute the call that brought the Conference together and give the topics that were proposed for discussion.

PURPOSE

New world conditions and a New Asia demand of America a well-considered policy in our dealings with Asia and Asiatics. This policy should be determined, not merely from the standpoint of America's political and economic interests in Asia, but also from the standpoint of the highest welfare of Asia herself. Who in America are more fitted to consider and formulate such a policy than those American individuals and groups that are vitally concerned with the promotion of Asia's moral and religious welfare?

Has not the time come for the emphatic rejection by America of the "imperialism" and "dollar diplomacy" advocated by some and widely ascribed to us by Asiatics, and for an outspoken declaration of the principles and aims of the new internationalism in our relations with Asia?

Whether or not the proposed Conference can arrive at such a declaration, is it not important that those Americans who above all others are interested in establishing right moral relations between America and the Orient and in promoting Asia's welfare should confer frankly upon these problems and formulate their common thought so far as may prove practicable?

Such a statement and declaration by the recognized leaders in the American foreign missionary enterprise may have far-reaching results in guiding American thought and action, in removing Asiatic suspicions and irritation, and in bringing both sides of the Pacific to a more wholesome attitude and relation to each other.

PROCEDURE

The Conference is to be one for genuine discussion. It will therefore be private and confidential. The Conference will naturally fall into two sessions of three hours each. Two persons will be asked to open each session with fifteen-minute addresses. Subsequent addresses should not exceed ten minutes. The topics suggested far exceed possibilities of actual discussion. The discussion, moreover, need not be confined to the topics suggested. The morning session (10 a. m.-1 p. m.) will be devoted to American Japanese Relations and the afternoon session (2-5 p. m.) to American Chinese Relations.

American Chinese Problems

Is America keeping her treaty pledges with China? Is the Chinese exclusion law constitutional? Does it provide for "equal protection of the law," regardless of "race, creed, or color?"

Is America under obligations to maintain China's political integrity? The "open door?" How far should America play the part of friend for China, diplomatically or otherwise? Could America take steps to help China recover autonomy of her customs? Complete control in the treaty ports? Is it premature to begin to agitate for the abolition of "extra-territoriality?"

Should our Federal Chinese Exclusion law and our other special laws dealing with Chinese be indefinitely maintained? Is China likely to become resentful of differential race treatment and legislation as Japan has become? Do Chinese desire privileges of naturalization? Would Chinese who qualify make good citizens?

American Japanese Problems

Is there any necessary conflict of American and Japanese policies?

Is Japan carrying on activities harmful to the interests of America in China and inimical to the welfare and rights of China?

Is America under obligations to protect China from Japanese aggressions? If so, in what ways may it best be done?

Does Japan have cause for complaint against America? Are Japanese entitled to receive "equal protection of equal laws?"

(1) The California Alien Land Law.
(2) Treatment of Japanese on the Pacific Coast.
(3) Refusal of privileges of naturalization and citizenship.

Is there a definite Anti-Japanese propaganda in America or Anti-American propaganda in Japan?

Do Japanese desire privileges of naturalization? Would they make good citizens?

(1) Official classes, (2) Business men, (3) Working classes, (4) Educators, (5) Writers.

America's Responsibilities and Opportunities

What attitude prevails in America toward China? Toward Japan?

Is there any specific difficulty in America's treatment of our laws dealing with Asiatics that need rectification? And if so, how may they be rectified?

(1) The California Alien Land Law.
(2) American laws of naturalization.
(3) Chinese exclusion laws and accompanying regulations.

(4) Labor of self-supporting students.

What should the State Department do?

What should Congress do?

What should the Christian forces do?

Is a comprehensive declaration possible and desirable of what America's Oriental policy should be?

II. MEMBERSHIP OF THE CONFERENCE

In addition to those that actually attended the Conference more than seventy-five others were compelled to decline the invitation. The following list comprises only those who were able to be present:

I. Missionaries from China

Rev. James M. Henry, D.D., South China, Presbyterian, North

Rt. Rev. D. T. Huntington, D.D., Bishop of Anking, Protestant Episcopal

Bishop W. S. Lewis, D.D., Bishop Resident in Shanghai, Methodist Episcopal

President H. H. Lowry, D.D., Peking University, Methodist Episcopal

Professor C. H. Robertson, Secretary Y. M. C. A. Lecture Department

Rt. Rev. L. H. Roots, D.D., Bishop of Hankow, Protestant Episcopal

William M. Schultz, M.D., Shantung, Presbyterian, North

Rev. William B. Stelle, Peking, Congregational

Rev. J. E. Williams, D.D., Nanking, Presbyterian, North

II. Missionaries from Japan (and Korea)

Rev. Prof. Arthur D. Berry, D.D., Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo, Methodist Episcopal

Rev. John L. Dearing, D.D., Yokohama, Baptist

Rev. Prof. M. D. Dunning, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Congregational

Bishop M. C. Harris, D.D., Bishop Emeritus, Resident in Tokyo, Methodist Episcopal

Rev. Hilton Pedley, D.D., Mayebashi, Congregational

Prof. A. K. Reischauer, D.D., Tokyo, Presbyterian, North

Rt. Rev. H. St. Geo. Tucker, D.D., Bishop of Kyoto, Protestant Episcopal

Bishop Herbert Welch, D.D., Bishop resident in Seoul, Methodist Episcopal.

III. Secretaries

B. R. Barber, Esq., representing John R. Mott, General Secretary Y. M. C. A.

F. S. Brockman, Esq., Associate General Secretary of the International Y. M. C. A.
Rev. William I. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church of America.
Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D., American Council World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship Through the Churches.
W. Henry Grant, Esq., Foreign Missions' Conference of North America.
Rev. William I. Haven, D.D., American Bible Society.
Rev. George Heber Jones, D.D., Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North.
Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., American Council World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship Through the Churches.
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D., General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
William B. Millar, Esq., Laymen's Missionary Movement.
Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D., Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North.
Robert E. Speer, D.D., Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

IV. Eminent Citizens

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, Former Governor of Connecticut.
Wallace Buttrick, Esq., Director Rockefeller Foundation, China Medical Board.
Douglas L. Dunbar, Esq., Japan Society, New York.
Professor Samuel P. Dutton, Director Canton Christian College.
Patrick Gallagher, Esq., The Far Eastern Bureau.
Rev. John F. Goucher, D.D., L.L.D., Chairman of Commission on Christian Education of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910.
Professor Alexander Tison, Former Professor of Law in Tokyo Imperial University.
Oswald Garrison Villard, Esq., New York Evening Post.
Hon. Amos P. Wilder, Yale-in-China Mission.
Mornay Williams, Esq., Chairman of Executive Committee of West China Union University.

III. THE TWO SESSIONS

The morning session was devoted to American Japanese Problems, Bishop Herbert Welch presiding.

Dr. Charles S. Macfarland made an opening statement, calling

attention to the fact that the Commission on Relations with Japan was established by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in response to memorials to the Federal Council from American Missionaries in Japan. He summarized the work of the Commission, making special reference to the scientific investigation it had provided for through the employment of Professor H. A. Millis, whose report was published (The Japanese Problem in the United States), and to the Christian Embassy to Japan, consisting of Dr. Shailer Mathews, President of the Federal Council, and of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick.

Out of the work of the Commission on Relations with Japan came the occasion and the call for this Conference on American Oriental Problems.

The two opening addresses of the morning were given by Bishop M. C. Harris and Dr. John L. Dearing, which were followed by a paper by Dr. Gulick.

The entire Conference was entertained at luncheon by the Church Peace Union in the beautiful banquet room of the new Yale Club. Brief addresses were made during the luncheon hour.

The afternoon session was devoted to American Chinese Problems, with Dr. Robert E. Speer in the chair. The two opening addresses were given by the Rt. Rev. Logan H. Roots and Dr. J. E. Williams.

At both sessions there was free, frank, and full discussion of the many important and delicate questions that had been raised.

In addition to those who had been asked to open the discussion, the following gentlemen made important contributions: Drs. Henry, Williams, Stelle, Schultze, and Professor Robertson, of China; Drs. Pedley, Reischauer, Berry, and Dunning, of Japan; and Drs. Goucher, Buttrick, Speer, North, Villard, Gallagher, Wilder, Williams, Lynch, Brockman, Haven, and Jones, and Governor Baldwin.

IV. THE DISCUSSION

The Conference was animated by the key-note that new world conditions and the new Asia call for a policy on the part of America in dealing with Asia and Asiatics that shall be determined not merely from the standpoint of America's political and economic interests in Asia, but also from the standpoint of the highest welfare of Asia herself. There was unanimity in the conclusion that the time has come for an emphatic rejection by America of the "imperialism" and "dollar diplomacy" advocated by some and widely ascribed to us by Asiatics, and for an outspoken declaration by the press and by our

people generally in favor of the new internationalism in our relations with Asia.

Speakers from Japan told of their opportunities of knowledge through conversations with Japan's leading statesmen, such as Marquis Okuma, Viscount Kaneko, Barons Kato, Ishii, and Shibusawa and Drs. Takata and Nitobe, some of whom had sought opportunity to speak through the returning missionaries to the American people.

Dr. Dearing, referring to his recent, and many of them long, interviews, stated that "the several statesmen spoke without reserve and most cordially," and that the total effect upon him had been "very greatly to strengthen the growing conviction of twenty-seven years of residence in Japan that her leading statesmen are thoroughly sincere, honorable, and honest in their statements of Japan's problems and policies."

There was full discussion of Japan's attitudes toward America and China and her policies in regard to both countries. Japan's desires to deal justly with China and to promote China's welfare as well as her own were asserted more than once. Evidence on the other hand was also presented for doubting Japan's sincerity in these assertions. One Japanese authority was reported as saying that Japan's worst foes in China are irresponsible Japanese adventurers.

Reference was made to the recent employment by the Foreign Office of Professor Thomas Batty as legal adviser, showing that Japan recognizes her need of counsel in her diplomatic negotiations. It was stated from the highest sources that "Japan would take no important step in China that was not first approved by Great Britain, Russia, and the United States."

The problem of Japanese emigration to the United States was frequently considered. The "Gentlemen's Agreement," it was shown, has solved the question for the present so far as the governments are concerned. But the people of Japan are by no means satisfied when they experience its rigid enforcement by the Japanese Government, making it impossible even for students to come to the United States unless they are sons of wealthy parents.

Japan's complaisance with American occupation of the Philippines was made clear.

All the Japanese statesmen quoted insist that Japan has no thought whatever of political control of China, either by closing the "open door" or by infringing the integrity of her empire. The virtual impossibility and the absolute folly of attempting a policy of domination was pointed out by the Japanese speakers reported. Japan could

not face the antagonism which such a policy would surely evoke, not only in China herself, but in Europe and America also. Japan's future welfare requires that she maintain friendly relations with China and also with all the great nations of the world.

Japan's essentially friendly attitude toward and confidence in America was repeatedly stated. Japan's real welfare is closely dependent on maintaining right relations with the United States. That Japan plans or contemplates war is vigorously repudiated by her responsible statesmen. Such statements, however, do not ignore the fact that America's discriminatory treatment of Japanese in America is keenly resented by all Japanese. It deeply hurts.

Missionaries from China made it plain that many discredit the protestations of Japanese statesmen that they desire only China's welfare. The course of affairs a year and a half ago in connection with the negotiations over the so-called twenty-one demands and especially the presentation of "Group V," both in substance and in manner, was referred to several times.

Reference was made by Mr. Gallagher to the protest of the "American Manufacturers' Association" to the Secretary of State of the United States against Japan's fresh demands upon China.

In regard to the treatment of Chinese in America there was general agreement that the situation was far from satisfactory; that the present exclusion laws are administered in a way that brings hardship, and that those in South China who know what is taking place are indignant. Beyond question these things are injuring American Chinese relations.

There was consensus of opinion that earnest steps should be taken for the rectification of our present laws dealing with American Chinese relations.

The Resolutions Committee reported in the afternoon a number of resolutions which, after due discussion and some amendment, were all unanimously passed. The principal resolutions follow in the next section.

The Conference closed after six hours of frank and earnest discussion with the conviction, shared by all, that a good beginning had been made and that similar meetings should be held from time to time where representatives from Japan and China might meet with citizens of our own country interested in the development of international good-will, where they might exchange opinions, information, and experience with utmost freedom and frankness.

V. RESOLUTIONS

1. That this Conference appoint a committee of five or more to wait upon the President of the United States, to present to him the important considerations bearing upon the need of reaching an early and honorable adjustment of American relations with Japan and with China.

The committee appointed to wait upon the President consisted of the following persons:

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D.
Rev. James L. Barton, D.D.
F. S. Brockman
Wallace Buttrick
Rev. John L. Dearing, D.D.
Professor Samuel P. Dutton, LL.D.
Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D.
Bishop M. C. Harris, D.D.
Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D.
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.
Prof. Shailer Mathews, D.D.
Rt. Rev. A. S. Lloyd, D.D.
Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D.
Rt. Rev. L. H. Roots, D.D.
Rev. J. E. Williams, D.D.
Hon. Mornay Williams

2. That this committee be instructed to ask the President to recommend to Congress the creation of a commission of not less than five members, whose duty it shall be to study the entire problem of the relations of America with Japan and with China; and further to recommend to Congress that it invite the government of China and the government of Japan each to appoint a similar commission. And if such commissions should be appointed it is the opinion of this Conference that the American commission should meet the commissions of China and Japan in their respective countries.

3. *Whereas,* The American Bar Association has framed a bill for an act of Congress, providing that "any act committed in any state or territory of the United States in violation of the rights of a citizen or subject of a foreign country secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country, which act constitutes a crime under the laws of such state or territory, shall constitute a like crime against the peace and dignity of the United States, punishable in like manner as in the courts of said

state or territory, and within the period limited by the laws of such state or territory, and may be prosecuted in the courts of the United States, and, upon conviction, the sentence executed in like manner as sentences upon convictions for crimes under the laws of the United States."

Therefore Resolved, That this Conference of men interested in the observance by the United States of all its treaty obligations and responsibilities urges upon Congress and the President the enactment of the above law during the coming session of Congress.

4. *Resolved,* That the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches and the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America be requested jointly to do what may be necessary to get the matters provided for in the preceding resolutions duly before the President and Congress of the United States.

5. *Whereas,* This Conference has received the report of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on the appointment of the Commission on Relations with Japan, and has reviewed the procedure of this Commission.

Resolved, That the Conference warmly approves both the appointment and work of the Commission.

6. *Resolved,* That it is the sense of this Conference that there be established, as soon as possible, a Bureau of Information as to Eastern affairs for the purpose of supplying to the press and the public unbiased and accurate information as to the progress of events in China and Japan and their relations to the United States, and that the two bodies calling this Conference be asked to aid in forwarding the purpose of this resolution.

AMERICAN JAPANESE RELATIONS

Paper by Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D.

"America and Japan are like two trains running full speed toward each other on a single track." Thus wrote the editor of the Tokio Nichi Nichi a few months ago. "Unless something intervenes a collision is inevitable."

This opinion is held, not only by many in Japan, but also by many in America. All right-thinking people should study this question and should earnestly consider what may be done, especially here in America, to avert disaster and to insure a fundamental solution.

Our problems are due to the rapid shrinkage of space in recent decades, to the immediate contact of virile races that have experienced

millenniums of divergent evolution, and to the impact of the West upon the East. We must either solve these problems by reason and character or they will overwhelm us all in ruin.

THE SITUATION

1. The daily press of both countries gives clear evidence of widespread suspicions and animosities, with frequent predictions of war. In each land many believe that the conscious policy of the other land is definitely preparing for attack. Each vehemently urges its own government to make adequate preparations against wanton attack.

2. The diplomatic correspondence between America and Japan regarding California's anti-alien land law (1913) has ended in a deadlock. This gives occasion for belief in many quarters that the difficulties in the case are insoluble. In the United States it gives color to the argument that Japan is trying to force open our doors for free Japanese immigration. In Japan it appears to justify the contention that America as a whole refuses to keep her treaty pledges—that America is a treaty-breaking land.

3. An anti-Japanese campaign is in progress in America. It is malicious and untruthful. It has produced numberless full-page editorials, insulting cartoons and a "Hymn of Hate." It poisons the minds, not only by direct falsehoods, but by insinuations, assumptions, and implications. It seeks to raise suspicion of the honesty and sincerity of every Japanese no less than of the leaders and of the government.

4. Japan's own problems, industrial, political, financial, international, moral, and religious, are naturally little understood by Americans —and least of all by sensational writers. Yet, in spite of colossal ignorance, they discuss Japanese affairs with an air of omniscience.

5. The complicated international situation in the Far East, moreover, where Russia, Germany, France, and England for a century have intrigued and fought, have made treaties and secured vast special privilege, and have done much to destroy the Chinese Empire, which no doubt also played her game of duplicity, intrigue, graft, and greed, and displayed her incompetence and injustice, and where all the nations have, more or less consciously, striven to bottle up Japan in her own restricted land and prevent her from enjoying equal opportunity with themselves in the wide world—all this welter of complications and problems is dismissed with a wave of the hand when discussion turns to Japan's efforts to prevent being bottled up and throttled.

6. But whatever the problems may be and the wrongs done or received, the important thing now is that America should deal with Japan in ways that are just and even generous. If matters are allowed to drift as they have been drifting for years they may easily grow

serious and suddenly turn acute. Over some relatively trivial incident the feelings of America and Japan may suddenly become so intense that a solution will be impossible.

Is it not clear that those who love justice, truth, and good neighborliness between the East and the West, should cooperate in effective ways to direct public opinion and to mold public action? Should they not be as active in guiding our nation into policies that are right and that make for international justice and peace as are those who, whatever their motives, are, in fact, embroiling us in war?

CORE OF JAPANESE PROBLEM

The problem is twofold—the treatment of Japanese in America, and American and Japanese policies in China.

This first question does not concern the matter of immigration, as is popularly believed. Japan is not demanding nor intending to insist upon free immigration to this country. The "Gentlemen's Agreement," in operation and faithfully administered by the Japanese government since 1908, has stopped labor immigration from Japan. The number of adult Japanese males in America has diminished by 15,139.

The anti-Japanese agitation in America, nevertheless, ignoring Japan's faithful administration of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," insists on fresh differential race legislation to meet an imaginary danger. This legislation, past and prospective, is resented by the Japanese on two grounds. It is regarded as insulting because it ignores what Japan has done, is doing, and says she will continue to do to prevent the difficulties we feel through the coming of Japanese labor immigrants. Such legislation not only does not appreciate what Japan has already done for us, more effectively indeed than we could have accomplished by our own legislation—as proved by the difficulty of enforcing our Chinese exclusion laws—but it also expresses, in the clearest way, distrust of her promises to continue to faithfully administer the "Gentlemen's Agreement." How can friendship be maintained or even asserted when distrust expresses itself in legislation? Such anti-Japanese legislation, past and prospective, is regarded as insulting, also, because it insists on race differential treatment which Japanese inevitably regard as bemeaning to their honor and dignity as a race.

Japan has proved her willingness to stop labor immigration to the United States by her own action, out of desire to maintain friendly relations with us. She wishes that we shall reciprocate and deal with her problems in a friendly way. She resents race discriminating legislation on our part because it brands Japanese merely because they are Japanese, and refuses to give those who are lawfully in America

a treatment equal to that which we accord to any other people.

Then there is the problem of American and Japanese policies in China. Many Americans think that Japan plans to gain such political control of China as practically, if not formally, to destroy her sovereignty and enable her thus to prevent any such expansion of American trade and influence in that land as may conflict with her own commercial and other interests. In a word, destruction of Chinese sovereignty and closing of the "open door."

On the other hand, many Japanese think that America plans to block Japanese legitimate and absolutely necessary expansion of trade and influence in China; that America desires and intends to use China as her own private field for expansion in commerce and for investment of capital to the exclusion of Japan; and that Japan's future welfare depends upon her ability to block America's imperialistic plans in the Orient no less than upon her ability to prevent such further European expansion there as does not accord her full recognition and opportunity.

These, I take it, are the central questions at issue threatening to mar the friendly relations of America and Japan.

THE SOLUTION

Three things may be done to set right the treatment of Japanese in America.

1. The United States government might well make public acknowledgment of appreciation of the splendid way in which Japan has administered the "Gentlemen's Agreement." This would help dispel the bogy of the sensational press that Japan is menacing us with a vast flood of laboring immigrants.

2. A comprehensive policy and program should be adopted dealing with all immigration on a basis free from race discrimination. Such legislation can give equal treatment and opportunity to every race and yet afford complete protection to the Pacific Coast from invasion from Asia, and also protection to our industrial classes from overwhelming cheap labor from every land if such immigration legislation is based on the principle of admitting no more from any people than we can Americanize.

3. Legislation is also needed dealing in a thorough-going way with the federal protection of all aliens in our land and with the matter of their Americanization. It should provide for federal laws dealing with state or local legislation and with crimes against aliens, for federal supervision of the education of aliens, and for the granting of citizenship to all who qualify regardless of race, under the above suggested restrictions.

These three comprehensive proposals adequately carried out would, I am persuaded, remove all ground for friction between America and Japan with regard to Japanese immigration, and also with regard to the proper treatment of those who are here.

In regard to the questions of American and Japanese policies in China, I speak with less assurance, for they deal with matters upon which I have not specialized and do not have adequate knowledge. They are, moreover, complicated to a degree that few Americans can appreciate. As I have already noted, Russian, German, English, and French interests, acquired rights, past procedures, and present policies, all enter in as vital factors. Americans have little knowledge of these facts and little appreciation of their relations to Japanese problems and policies.

We must not forget, moreover, that Japan has learned the bitter lesson that she may not send her increasing population to so-called "white men's lands." She realizes that she must provide for her multiplying millions only in Asia. She has also learned that the governments of Europe have scant regard for the rights, for the sovereignty, and even for the vital interests of non-Caucasian nations and races. Such position and power as Japan has to-day she has wrung from an unwilling world by positive achievement of a high order, by astute diplomacy, and by bullets, bayonets, and battleships. Further acquisition by Europe or America of rights, privileges, or territory in China, Japan holds, will not only harm China, but will endanger her own future welfare.

What now should be American policies in the Orient? Are we prepared to follow the methods of Europe demanding our place of opportunity and enforcing plans for imperialistic expansion and influence? This is the policy which many in Japan attribute to us, and many in America are actually urging. How should Japanese regard this statement from the Washington Herald: "Bombs and dollars are the only things that count to-day. We have plenty of the one. Let us lay in a good supply of the other and blast a path to world leadership as soon as the opportunity presents itself." If this is to be our policy, then I doubt not difficulties will increase, suspicions multiply, hostile spirit develop, and a final clash become inevitable.

I advocate no such policy for the United States. I believe that American influence and opportunity in the Orient will be vastly greater and more profitable by the maintenance of our historic policy of friendship and good-will, based entirely on moral and mutually advantageous commercial, educational, and philanthropic relations rather than upon

the adoption of an imperialistic policy of expansion relying for success upon "bombs and dollars."

The profits of no amount of trade with the Orient could possibly compensate for war, even a short war, with Japan; while the moral damage to our influence upon all Asia for the uplift of those lands would be incalculable.

For these reasons I earnestly desire that our national policy should be in sharp contrast to the imperialistic and militaristic policies advocated by some; a policy, moreover, so conceived and so worded that it may go out over the country with convincing force.

We need a clear statement from influential business and other groups as to our policies in the Orient which would help to allay the rising suspicion in Japan that we plan to help bottle her up and throttle her. Such statements would help to steady our own people also by letting them know that the imperialistic expansionists of America do not have the field all to themselves.

And might not such statements also aid our government in molding its course, and in resisting the subtle and sinister forces that wish to utilize it for their own selfish ends?

Should not the leaders and creators of public opinion declare with the utmost clearness and strongest emphasis that America seeks no opportunity in China that is not in harmony with the interests of both Japan and China? And that America will never resort to force to gain or to maintain commercial advantage or vested privilege?

Might not America make efforts also both privately and diplomatically to harmonize the clashing international interests in China, striving to persuade all the nations to adopt policies which subordinate selfish advantage and ambition to the rights and welfare of China itself? Is it not evident that an independent, self-governing, and prosperous China, in which all nations have equal opportunity for trade and investment, will in the long run be more advantageous for each nation separately and for the whole world together than a divided, humiliated, and exploited China?

Clear declarations from time to time along these lines, and also affirmations at suitable times by our government of such a policy as this, would render important aid to the cause of world justice and peace by educating our own people in the fundamental principles of our international relations and policies and in allaying doubts and suspicions so easily raised both here and in the Orient by sensational, unreliable, and sometimes even malicious newsmongers?

I have no hesitation in affirming that Japan seeks no exclusive opportunities or rights in China. If she could be assured that Europe

and America would play fair in China, respecting the principles of the integrity of China and the "open door," Japan would undoubtedly do the same. Her experience, however, has led her to doubt both us and them. This it is that creates the situation. She doubts them and they doubt her. Just here is where America might render important help by taking a firm and out-spoken stand for these principles when dealing with Russia, Great Britain, France, and Germany, as well as when dealing with Japan.

In conclusion, then, if America will adjust her immigration and naturalization legislation so as to remove invidious and humiliating race discrimination and will adopt an Oriental policy that repudiates imperialistic ambitions to be won by "bombs and dollars" and that insists on making all international policies in China place as foremost regard for China's own welfare, important steps will have been taken for maintaining lasting friendship and peace with both Japan and China, and indeed with the whole world.

XIV.

Concluding Observations

It will thus be seen that, through the initiative of this commission, large and important bodies of men have been brought to approach the questions involved in the spirit of Christian love and good-will.

Some questions have been raised and many suggestions have been received from many quarters as to the procedure of the commission. The question was raised as to whether or not the commission was sufficiently representative from a geographical point of view, and in response to this suggestion as already noted, the commission has been enlarged in this interest.

It may be well to call attention at this point to the continuous campaign carried on in certain sections of the American press of malicious misrepresentation of Japan, through the publication of fabricated news, distorted quotations from the Japanese press, slanderous cartoons, sensational stories and malignant editorials.

This anti-Japanese campaign is a cause for shame and solicitude, for it tends to establish a deep-seated suspicion of Japan among our people, animosity against us in Japan, and a spirit of mutual hostility that upon some relatively slight occasion might easily result in serious consequences.

It has sometimes been asked: "Why should the Federal Council appoint a Commission on Relations with Japan in particular?" The answer, of course, is that particular questions had arisen in our relationships with this nation which called for procedure which should be dominated by the Christian spirit. Indeed, it is now thought advisable by some that the Federal Council should have a similar Commission on Relations with Mexico and another on Relations with China, for the same or similar reasons.

It is perhaps interesting to note that the conference to which reference has been made, held in New York in September, 1916, was the first occasion on which missionaries from

China and missionaries from Japan have been brought together for a thoughtful consideration of their mutual tasks and problems.

In order that the purpose of the Federal Council might be made as clear as possible the following statement was issued under date of March 30, 1916, by the president and general secretary of the Federal Council:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America can have no political platform and cannot in any sense engage in politics. As representing the religious attitude of mind of the Protestant churches of the country, it is, however, endeavoring to make plain the fact that nothing in human life is free from Christian principles. International relations, as truly as individual relations, are of religious importance.

Because of its conviction that one means of building up permanent peace is the establishment of Christian sympathy and Christian understanding, the Federal Council has planned closer relations with the Christians of various countries for the purpose of cooperation in the application of principles of Christianity to the relations of nations.

As a part of this general plan representatives of the Council are in constant communication with representatives of the Christian bodies of Europe. The general secretary of the Council, Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, has recently returned from a personal visit to the leaders of Protestant churches in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France and Great Britain.

In pursuance of this policy for the promotion of right international relations, the Federal Council has established a movement to deal with the entire question of the responsibility and work of the churches for the relief of sufferers from the war. As occasion may arise other special commissions will be established to deal with special international problems.

When the diplomatic relations between America and Japan became somewhat disturbed more than two years ago, the Federal Council, in response to an appeal from missionaries in Japan, deemed it wise to establish the Commission on Relations with Japan.

A year ago the Council sent an embassy to carry its Christian good-will to the Christians of Japan, and through them to the Japanese people. This embassy was given every opportunity to express the American attitude of mind to the Japanese people. The interest in its message and mission was uniformly great on the part of the Christian churches, the people, the educated classes, and the government. It

was universally felt and expressed that the time had come for the emphasis of Christian principles in the specific relations which exist between the United States and Japan.

But the matter obviously cannot rest in general principles. Christianity must express itself in concrete programs. We not only wish to give justice, but we wish to know how justice is to be given. To this end the embassy to Japan, in a long series of conferences and in correspondence, obtained the general attitude of mind of leaders of Japanese thought as to a proposed general policy governing immigration into the United States.

This policy is set forth in detail in a pamphlet by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, entitled "A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program." This policy is an attempt to find some practical way of bringing Christian principles to bear, not only upon relations between America and Japan, but between America and all countries from which immigrants are likely to come.

This proposal is acceptable to Japanese leaders. Adequate proof of this is in the hands of the commission.

The question, of course, arises whether such a policy would be acceptable to California and other coast states where the tension due to Japanese immigration has been somewhat pronounced. This attitude can now be seen from the letters and actions of leading citizens and bodies on the Pacific Coast presented in Dr. Gulick's report on his visit to the Coast.

It will, of course, be understood that the various proposals which are set forth by Dr. Gulick and others who approve them, are published rather than officially adopted by the Federal Council, which is concerned only with the general ethical principles involved. As a Council it expresses no opinion regarding the advisability or the possibility of any of the plans suggested by the various participants in the discussion. It circulates them simply as proposals worthy of thoughtful attention by Christian citizens.

(Signed) SHAILER MATHEWS
(Signed) CHARLES S. MACFARLAND

March 30, 1916
New York City

It is interesting to note that in a volume entitled, *Japan's Message to America,* Rev. Tasuku Harada offered recommendations which were prophetic, and to which, in a return volume, *America's Message to Japan,* the general secretary was able to respond in these words:

In *Japan's Message to America,* Rev. Tasuku Harada calls attention to the problems of the Christian church in Japan. One of these was the need of unification. Therefore, it is gratifying for me to bear witness, on behalf of the federation of American churches including thirty denominations and one hundred and forty thousand churches that the spirit of Christian unity in America is partly a reflex action, for cooperation among the mission churches in Japan has in large measure stimulated unanimity among our churches at home. Dr. Harada also suggested that the American churches should send messengers to encourage Japanese Christianity. We have responded to this request in the sending of Dr. Shailer Mathews and Rev. Sidney L. Gulick as official messengers from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He also urged the promotion of international peace, and he will therefore be gratified at the election of a missionary from Japan as associate secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration appointed by the Federal Council, as well as by the appointment of a special Commission on Relations with Japan.

It has been noted that a visit was made to Japan in 1915-16 by Dr. North, chairman of the executive committee, and by Dr. Haven, chairman of the administrative committee of the Federal Council. Still more recently, Robert E. Speer, chairman of the Federal Council Commission on Foreign Missions, has also participated in an extensive evangelistic movement in Japan.

Mention has been made (Section VII.) of the influence of Dr. Gulick in arranging privately for the coming of labor delegates from Japan to hold fraternal intercourse with the labor organizations in America. Such procedure as this is undoubtedly helpful in adjusting the economic difficulties, but, it should be frankly admitted that the greater difficulty is that of removing, by education and intercourse, and by the dominance of the Christian spirit of brotherhood, the barriers of racial misunderstanding, and of creating a new spirit of mutual esteem and good-will.

Merely because men happen to belong to this nation or that race, God does not regard them with special favor or disfavor. He has no pet race to which he is partial and no people whom he spurns on mere race grounds. He has created men in nations and races that they may help each other. He gives to each great people, as to each gifted man, its own peculiar traits and qualities, that they may play their own

peculiar part in the enrichment of the life of all. He means that all shall profit by the unique life and gifts of each. True Christianity knows neither East nor West. The Golden Rule applies alike to individuals, to nations, and to races. This great lesson the church must diligently teach until our entire people puts it into practise in all our international and interracial relations.

The following volumes and pamphlets dealing with American Oriental problems, have been published and widely circulated by the commission for the information of our people as to the problems themselves and as to the suggestions that are being made for their solution.

VOLUMES

The Japanese Problem in the United States, by H. A. Millis.
The Fight for Peace, by Sidney L. Gulick.
America and the Orient, Outlines of a Constructive Policy, by Sidney L. Gulick.

PAMPHLETS

Annual Reports of the Commission on Relations with Japan in the volumes of Annual Reports of the Federal Council for the years 1913, 1914, and 1915.

1. "The American Japanese Problem."
2. "Asia's Appeal to America."
3. "The Responsibility of Pastors."
4. "A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program."
5. "The Report of the Christian Embassy to Japan."
6. "The Friendship of America for Japan" (published in Japan in English).
7. "American Treatment of Japanese in America" (published in Japan in Japanese).
8. "The Pacific Coast and the New Oriental Policy."
9. "The Church and Permanent Peace."
10. "Report of the Conference on American Oriental Problems."

Respectfully submitted,

HAMILTON HOLT,
Chairman.

APPENDIXES

The foregoing pages constitute the report of the Commission on Relations with Japan. In order, however that the reader may acquaint himself with the subject matter dealt with by the commission and may appreciate more adequately the reasons for the establishment of the commission and the seriousness of the problems involved, the following discussions by Dr. Gulick have been added. They have been published by him as pamphlets during the years 1914, 1915, and 1916 to give information in regard to American-Asiatic problems and to present those suggestions as to policies and principles which he believes will be helpful in the solution of the problems. They are here presented for their informational value and are worthy, it is believed, of serious consideration.

APPENDIX I.

THE AMERICAN JAPANESE PROBLEM

[The following discussion presents in the briefest possible form some of the principal points discussed in Mr. Gulick's volume having the above title[1]. He there considers at length the racial relation of the East and West which is widely recognized as the most important world-problem of the twentieth century. He also takes up in detail California's experience with Japanese together with the question of Japanese assimilability. In this address, after considering the world situation suggested by the terms of "Yellow and White Perils," and after discussing briefly the problem of Japanese assimilability, he presents his proposals as to immigration, and as to methods of assimilation.]

---

[1]*The American Japanese Problem,* pp. 350, 1914. $1.75 Scribner's.

"Asia is a sleeping giant," said Napoleon; "let her sleep, for when she wakens she will shake the world." That prophecy is now coming true. Events mighty and significant are crowding upon us. The situation is dramatic and threatens to become tragic.

Man's modern mastery of nature, with the practical collapse of space, have created a new world situation. Races and civilizations, for ages self-sufficient, proud, ambitious, determined, are now face to face. Shall mutual misunderstandings, suspicions, aggressions, resentments, indignation, with mutual exclusion between East and West, grow ever more acute, culminating in fierce military conflict? Shall eight hundred millions in Asia, united and armed with Western science, bayonets, and battleships, be pitted in race war against the white nations of Christendom, armed to the teeth?

Such is the dread "Yellow Peril" which many already anticipate, and for which they would have Christendom prepare. But is there not some alternative, some better way? If so, what is it? My discussion falls into three sections:

1. The Perils—Yellow and White.
2. Are Japanese Assimilable?
3. A New American Oriental Policy.

I. THE PERILS—YELLOW AND WHITE

Whites in America number approximately 90,000,000; Japanese and Chinese each about 70,000; yet we face an ominous racial situation.

California, in fear of the economic competition of Asiatic labor and of a swamping invasion of Asiatic civilization, demands legislation providing for complete Asiatic exclusion. She urges also vast expenditures for military preparations on the Pacific Coast.

British America likewise, and Australia, New Zealand, and British Africa have been seized with like fear of Asiatic immigration and military invasion. In each of these lands the white man has raised high walls of Asiatic exclusion. The wide continents he now possesses he proposes to keep for the white man's ownership; their unlimited natural resources he intends to reserve for the white man's use. Of the needs or rights of the yellow and black man he has no consciousness, and (should I add?) apparently no sense of responsibility.

For several hundred years the white man has regarded himself as ordained to own and rule the world; to take by force, if need be, and make his own whatever he desired. Practically unhindered, he swept over America, North and South, Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, and Siberia. To uncounted millions of the native peoples of these lands the white man has proved a terrible scourge. He has

ruthlessly destroyed, not only tribes and peoples, but entire civilizations. For centuries he has been a veritable "White Peril" to races of other color than his own.

To escape the "White Peril," Japan deliberately shut herself away from the rest of the world for 250 years. Only when she could no longer protect herself by the method of exclusion did she adopt the new policy of learning and using what the white man knows. Her success in this policy the Russo-Japanese war proclaimed.

Japanese cannon at Port Arthur, Mukden, and in the Japan Sea were heard, not only by the grim combatants, but also in every European capitol. They spoke with no uncertain sound. They proclaimed an end to the white man's unquestioned domination of the world. Their proclamation was heard likewise throughout Asia and Africa, giving fresh hope to races that have quailed before the white man.

One month after the signature of the Portsmouth treaty of peace, China abolished her system of classical education, over 2000 years old, and adopted the policy which Japan has found so hopeful—the mastery of the world's best knowledge. To-day, accordingly, we have a new China; the Manchu rulers have gone; a new national consciousness has arisen, with mighty ambitions and plans; China is waking to international life. She recognizes how serious is her plight. She is reorganizing her political, industrial, commercial, social, and even her intellectual life. She proposes no longer to be a weak, belated people, the object of exploitation by all the other nations of the world. With Japan she plans to place herself beside the white man as at least his equal, with power to decide her own destiny.

But from the white man's standpoint the "Yellow Peril" is not only a matter of inundating immigration or mighty military invasion; it takes the form also of the keenest possible economic competition. When Asia with its low standard of living and with its teeming millions of highly developed laborers begins to manufacture for herself the goods we now send her, where will our commerce be? And when she produces far cheaper than we can, the manufactured goods we use, what will become of our industries, and of our working classes? Shall we not all be forced down to the Asiatic scale of life?

From the Japanese standpoint, on the other hand, the "White Peril" is taking on a new form. Through the adoption of Western science, hygiene and medicine, and through the acceptance of the Occidental estimate of the value of human life and the wide abandonment of infanticide, population is growing apace, as never before in her history. In the face of this growing population in a land

already densely crowded, expansion to open territories is practically impossible. For the white nations have taken and hold such land for exclusive white ownership.

Moreover, the treatment of the Japanese in some parts of Christendom is galling to their pride and national dignity. California's recent anti-alien legislation has deeply wounded the entire Japanese people. Until the most recent years Japan has placed implicit confidence in the first article of the first treaty made with America in 1854, the first treaty with any foreign land: "There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States and Japan and between their peoples, respectively, without exception of persons or places." This friendship, pledged between America and Japan sixty years ago, has been keenly and highly appreciated by Japan, but now it is considerably cooled. In truth, Japan is indignant, and is eagerly waiting to learn if, as a whole, America will support the anti-Asiatic policy so urgently pressed by California.

Professor Nagai, in his article last May on the "White Peril," says: "If one race assumes the right to appropriate all the wealth, why should not the other races feel ill-used and protest? If the yellow races are oppressed by the white races and have to revolt to avoid congestion and maintain existence, whose fault is it but the aggressors? If the white races truly love peace and wish to deserve the name of Christian nations, they will practise what they preach and will soon restore to us the rights so long withheld. They will rise to the generosity of welcoming our citizens among them as heartily as we do theirs among us. We appeal to the white races to put aside their race prejudice and meet us on equal terms in brotherly cooperation."

Dr. Dharmapala of India, speaking in Osaka, Japan, last July, on "Japan's Duty to the World," said; "It is the 'White Peril' that the Asiatic races have to guard against. The White Peril is a reality; the Yellow Peril is only a phantom raised by European diplomacy to hoodwink Asia. How," he asks, "are we to subdue the arrogance of European races?" He urges Japan to lead Asia in the coming conflict with the white man.

China is at present most friendly to America. But how long will she remain so? When her people become as well versed in the affairs of the world as Japan and India are to-day; when she becomes conscious of the solidarity of white antipathy to Asiatics and to a treatment of Chinese contrary to our treaties and out of harmony with her dignity; when she learns of Californian anti-alien legislation

and the refusal of America as a whole to let any Asiatics become citizens of this land, whatsoever their personal qualification, is it likely that China will maintain her friendship unbroken?

Against a solid anti-Asiatic white race, will there not inevitably arise a solid anti-white Asia? And will this not mean vast economic disaster to both East and West through military and naval expenses and interrupted or undeveloped commerce?

But the evils of protracted yellow and white perils are even more profound.

The two great streams of civilization, Occidental and Oriental, the product of milleniums of divergent evolution, are in a large sense complementary. We Westerners easily see that we have much of value to give to the East. We do not so easily see that they have something of worth to give to us. Yet such, nevertheless, is the fact. But this mutual interchange of our best spiritual treasures cannot go forward on a basis of mutual suspicion, hatred, and enmity. Only as friendship is established and maintained can we give them our best. This, moreover, is essential if we are to lift them to the level of our own life. It is no doubt true that, unless we elevate them to our own level, ultimately they will pull us down to theirs. Only on the basis of friendship, too, can we receive from them the best they have to give, thus enriching our own lives.

Such in barest outlines is the situation. A new era in human evolution has begun. The races and civilizations are face to face. This new era should be one of glorious interchange—an era of universal convergent evolution; but obstacles of race pride, aggression, ambition, and suspicion lie athwart our path. Perils, yellow and white, threaten the best interests of us all—East and West.

Many see no solution to the race problem save that of mutual exclusion. For the admission of Asiatics to America, as we admit immigrants from Europe, means, they assert, an Asiatic inundation. To such thinkers, complete surrender or complete segregation are the only alternative courses.

Just here, however, lies the great mistake, for there is a third course. In briefest outline, it is a policy that provides for the gradual admission of Asiatics with provision for their education, assimilation, and naturalization. By the early adoption of this policy, America can avoid both Scylla and Charybdis, devitalize both the yellow and white perils, and secure the inestimable advantages of the mutual exchange of their best by East and West. But at once some one will proclaim that Asiatics, and especially Japanese, are not assimilable. Though we admit them to our land, they will never

become parts of our civilization, nor really enter into our life. They are Oriental and we Occidental. Can oil and water mix? No more can East and West; and Kipling will be quoted;

"Oh, East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet
Till earth and sky stand presently
At God's great judgment seat."

They, however, who quote these now famous lines, forget or never heard the lines that immediately follow:

"But there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Tho' they come from the ends of the earth."

There are indeed real differences between the East and the West, yet there is also real and still deeper unity. This question demands careful study. I pass accordingly to my second main topic, and ask:

II. ARE JAPANESE ASSIMILABLE?

If we admit Asiatics to our land, can and will they become truly American? If it indeed be true that the Japanese and Asiatics generally are not assimilable to our American civilization, then, of course, any plan for their admission to permanent residence in America and to naturalization, is out of the question.

Assimilation has two aspects—biological and social—to be sharply distinguished. In the one, through race intermarriage, inherited race nature is combined and amalgamation takes place. The laws of the amalgamation are biological, operate spontaneously, and are wholly subconscious; the process is completed before the birth of the offspring. What occurs in those mysterious processes of generation and growth, our best science only dimly surmises. Their regulation is beyond human control.

In social assimilation, however, inherited race culture is transmitted both consciously and unconsciously, not only from parent to offspring, but from every influence that molds thought, feeling, and conduct. Social inheritance, given to the offspring only after birth, is a factor of superlative force in creating the personality of the individual. This inheritance is given, not by biological processes, but by education, by language, by every influence that molds the heart and mind and will. Moreover, wholesome nurture, transmitting wholesome social inheritance, can alone provide the right environment in which human biological heredity can produce its best results.

This distinction between social and biological heredity and inheritance is of the highest importance in considering the problem of race assimilation. Civilization, mental habits of every kind, moral and religious ideas and ideals, with all the practises to which they lead, are matters of social, not of biological heredity and its processes. These are the factors which make a man to be the man he is. They form his mind, furnish the categories of his thinking, provide the motives and standards of his conduct, and, in a word, determine a man's race, sociologically speaking.

Now man's marvelous psychic nature provides that these things can be imparted to individuals of any race when they are young and plastic. Under ten or twelve, any child can completely learn any language, enter into any civilization, and become fully possessed of its social inheritance. Advancing years with loss of plasticity deprives one of this capacity. A full grown adult has almost no capacity for acquisition of new languages and civilizations. A man's personality is formed by the civilization in which he is reared.

The social assimilation of races, then, can proceed independently of their intermarriage. The Jews are a case in point. Sociologically speaking, Jews born and bred in America are Americans—biologically speaking, they are Hebrews.

Now from the standpoint of capacity to learn our language, acquire our ideas, and enter into our corporate democratic life, young Japanese and Chinese are just as assimilable as are Italians or Russians, if we give them the same opportunity, the same welcome. Indeed, Asiatic children, reared in America, are more completely cut off from their social inheritance than are the children of any European people, because of the extraordinary difficulty of learning to read and speak Chinese and Japanese. Japanese children born in America can speak English freely, even though both parents are pure Japanese and are quite ignorant of English. In Hawaii, in spite of the large Japanese population and thousands of Japanese children for playmates, English is the language with which they play and quarrel.

The degree to which Japanese in California have already become Americanized, especially American-born children, is amazing to those who know them in Japan. The complete social assimilability of the Japanese is beyond question for any one who will investigate the facts scientifically.

In regard to the question of the intermarriage of whites and Asiatics, ignorant dogmatism prevails. Race antipathy and prejudice play a large rôle here. Yet it is a question which has not been carefully studied by experts. Intermarriage under wholesome and right

relations is still limited. The disastrous results of the immoral sexual relations of the races should not be regarded as throwing light of any particular value on this problem.

We need, accordingly, a commission of expert biologists, sociologists, and psychologists to collect and collate the facts already available that we may really know what are the biological consequences of race intermarriage. Personally I deprecate strongly the marriage of whites with Japanese. The differences of ideals as to the respective rights and duties of husband and wife are so great that the intermarriage of Americans and Japanese is a highly hazardous venture. Moreover, the biological results of such intermarriage are by no means clear. Many hold them to be as a rule bad. President Eliot contends that "pure races" are far superior. He asserts, moreover, that as a rule Japanese "do not intermarry with women of foreign races, affording thus a strong contrast to the white race in foregn parts. The question of immigration, therefore," he argues, "need not be complicated by any racial problem, provided that each of several races abiding in the same territory keeps itself pure, as the Japanese do, wherever they live."

But dogmatism is out of place. We need such scientific knowledge on this problem as can be collected only by experts. The question of the wisdom of race intermarriage surely should not be left to the decision of individuals moved by momentary emotional impulses, nor by ignorant dogmatism based on race prejudice. Full knowledge is required, and then, if intermarriage is unwise, we need an adequate national law forbidding it.

The question, therefore, of the intermarriage of whites and Asiatics can be and should be kept distinct from that of social assimilation. The latter can go forward independently of the former.

Accepting this result, we come to the third topic before us; to the statement, namely, of concrete propositions as to what we now should do for the solution of America's pressing Japanese problem.

III. OUTLINES OF A NEW ORIENTAL POLICY

First of all I wish to say that I am in hearty agreement with the fundamental postulate of California's general Oriental policy. An immigration from Asia, swamping the white man, overturning the democratic institutions of the Pacific Coast and ultimately of all America, or bringing wide economic disaster to Caucasian laborers and farmers, is not for a moment to be tolerated. California is right in her general policy. She is nevertheless wrong in her mode

of applying that policy. Right in principle—wrong in method. She seeks to settle what is an international, nay, a universal problem in the light of exclusively local interests. Her solution in fact aggravates the difficulty, for it ignores pertinent facts, such as the actual diminution of Japanese residents in America due to the efficient administration by Japan of the Gentlemen's Agreement. It ignores also the willingness of Japan to accede to the fundamental desire of California. Her anti-alien legislation which, as Attorney-General Webb stated, "seeks to limit their (Japanese) presence by curtailing their privileges, for they will not come in large numbers nor long abide with us if they may not acquire land"—this legislation is accordingly needless; it is moreover humiliating to Japan; it is unscientific, unjust, short-sighted, and contrary to the spirit and substance of all American treaties with Japan.

The present Oriental policy of the United States as a whole also is in important respects humiliating to the Japanese and disgraceful to us. California's anti-alien legislation really rests back upon the refusal of our federal government to grant rights of American citizenship to any individuals save "full white men" and men "of African descent."

Professing friendship in words, we deny it in important deeds. Demanding an open door for Americans in Asia and equality of opportunity for our citizens with that accorded to citizens of the "most favored nation," we do not ourselves grant the same to Asiatics in our land.

Here then is a serious situation. On the one hand is California, conscious of a danger which she believes threatens to reach vast proportions, if not radically and promptly dealt with. On the other hand is Japan, a nation with which America secured and has maintained exceptional relations of friendship, deeply wounded, yet earnestly desiring the maintenance of the historic friendship on a basis of dignity and mutual profit.

This is a difficult, delicate, and intricate problem. Both sides have their measure of truth and right. The problem is how to harmonize these real rights and interests. How is it possible to grant what California so insistently and rightly demands and at the same time to secure to Japan what she demands with equal insistence?

The problem, however, is not so difficult as first appears. We need accurate knowledge as to the facts, clear thinking as to principles, the adoption of correct fundamental postulates and their consistent and wise elaboration into concrete policies and laws.

The new American Oriental policy must hold as its major premise

the principles announced by President Wilson in that notable address at Mobile. He was speaking, it is true, with the South American nations in view, but the principles he announced apply equally to the nations of the Orient. As reported, he said:

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon the terms of equality and honor. You cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality.

"You cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor; and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not.

"Human rights, national integrity, and opportunity, as against material interests—that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face.

"She (America) must regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity."

On such principles, consistently applied, would we found America's new Oriental policy.

America should treat the Oriental on a basis of complete equality with the citizens of other races, granting to them the "most favored nation" treatment, even as we give it to others and demand it for ourselves.

The policy needed is one that conserves all the permanent interests of California and the entire United States, and does so in harmony with the dignity of the peoples of the Orient, and provides likewise for their permanent welfare.

A New General Immigration Law is needed which shall apply impartially to all races. We must abandon all differential Asiatic treatment, even as regards immigration. The danger of an overwhelming Oriental immigration can be obviated by a general law allowing a maximum annual immigration from any land, of a certain fixed percentage of those from that land already here and naturalized. The valid principle on which such a law would rest is the fact that newcomers from any land enter and become assimilated to our life chiefly through the agency of those from that land already here. These know the languages, customs, and ideals of both nations. Consequently, the larger the number already assimilated, the larger the number of those who can be wisely admitted year by year. The same percentage rate would permit of great differences in actual numbers from different lands.

By way of illustrating this suggestion consider the following outline of a general immigration law.

The maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any nation, race or group having a single "mother tongue" shall be:

(1) Five per cent. of those from that land already naturalized American citizens, including their American-born children.

(2) In addition to these there shall also be admitted from any land all who are returning to America, having at some previous time had a residence here of not less than three years.

(3) All immediate dependent relatives of those who have had a residence here of not less than three years.

(4) All who have had an education in their own land equivalent to the American high school, with not less than three years' study of some foreign tongue.

In the application of these provisions, individuals who come as bona fide travelers, government officials, students; in a word, all who are provided for by funds from their native land, should not be counted as immigrants; but all merchants, professionals, students, and all others who, even though not technically laborers, yet depend on their own efforts in this land for a living, should be so reckoned.

The immigration law suggested above would make it impossible for a new country like Patagonia or Tibet to get started, for it would have no naturalized citizens here from whom the five per cent. rate could be estimated. To make immigration possible for new countries it might be desirable to set an arbitrary limit—say 500 or even 1,000 immigrants per annum as a maximum for any country having less than 20,000 naturalized citizens in America.

Senator Dillingham proposed last June (1913) that annual immigration be allowed from any country up to ten per cent. of those from that land already here, yet allowing a minimum of 5,000 to come from any land, however few may be their representatives in this country. The similarity of the writer's thought with that of the senator's is apparent. Senator Dillingham proposes, however, to leave Asiatic exclusion laws as they stand, making no effort to solve the difficult and highly important Asiatic problem.

The writer is not particularly concerned with defending the five per cent. rate here suggested. He merely uses it by way of illustration. Those better acquainted with the facts of immigration and the speed of social assimilation must determine just what percentage would be wise. The present contention centers on the point that whatever the wise rate may be it should be applied equally to all races. This principle alone avoids the difficulty of invidious race discrimination.

A Bureau of Alien Registration and Education is needed for the

supervision of the education of all aliens. Every alien permanently residing in this country should be making steady preparation for citizenship; that is, for ability to live here intelligently and profitably both to himself and to us.

All aliens should be required to register in this bureau, paying a substantial annual fee of say $10, until naturalized. He should keep the bureau informed of changes of residence. Failure to pay the annual fee or to keep the registration bureau informed of changes of residence should be punishable by fines, and if persisted in should be a cause for deportation; and all unregistered aliens should be liable to deportation. Graded courses of study in American history, politics, civics, and English should be prepared, as well as some adequate presentation of the fundamental traits of American civilization, and opportunity should be given for annual examinations, free of charge. The annual registration fee might be diminished with each examination passed. Certificates of graduation should be essential for naturalization. Federal aid might be given to states, cities, and towns providing facilities for alien education. Night schools might be opened in public school buildings. All institutions, such as Young Men's Christian Associations or churches providing systematic education for aliens along the lines of the federal law might receive subsidies.

Of course, the establishment and development of such an undertaking would entail enormous work, expense, and patience. Much common sense would be required to avoid needless red tape. Those in charge should ever seek to carry out the spirit. An incidental yet important advantage of this system would be the close knowledge by our authorities of aliens in their first years here and the ability to pick out and deport undesirables, such as anarchists, white-slave dealers, or flagrant criminals. No small part of our national difficulty with immigration has been our *laissez-faire* policy in regard to their education for citizenship. The method of registration would enable the authorities to detect and deport such as may have made their way into America illegitimately. The systematic care and education of all aliens in America is essential to the welfare of the country, of far more practical and also of more pressing importance than our splendid educational enterprise in the Philippines.

The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization might well be divided, and the functions of the latter modified and extended. The work and responsibility of granting naturalization to aliens should be taken away from courts which are not qualified for such a function and vested in a body specially constituted for that purpose. Every

candidate for citizenship should present certificates of graduation in American history, politics, civics, English, and principles of American civilization. The bureau of naturalization should also secure from the bureau of registration certificates of the good behavior and the moral fitness of candidates, granting naturalization only to those morally as well as educationally qualified.

A day might be set aside each year, perhaps the Fourth of July, on which to administer the oath of allegiance and to extend official welcome to all new citizens. Patriotic processions, banquets and speeches with appropriate pins, banners, and badges, could make the event as important and significant as commencement exercises are in our colleges and universities.

A Fresh Definition of Eligibility for American Citizenship is needed. American citizenship should be based on individual qualification. Race of itself should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification for citizenship. Let us raise the standards for citizenship as high as may be needed; but, whatever the standards are, let us apply them impartially. Whoever qualifies should be admitted.

Let such special legislation as may be needed, enabling Asiatic naturalization, be taken promptly by Congress.

The granting of rights of naturalization to all on a personal, not a racial, basis would go far toward solving the entire problem now pending with Japan. Existing anti-Japanese legislation of California and other states would at once be void. The Japanese nation and government would be intensely gratified, for they would recognize that America as a whole insists on justice and equality of treatment for Japanese in our land.

Japanese individuals who have taken the required courses of education for citizenship and are ready on the one hand to renounce openly their allegiance to Japan, and on the other to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, would without doubt make as loyal Americans as those who come from any other land.

Direct Federal Responsibility in all legal and legislative matters involving aliens is also essential. Aliens are guests of the nation, not of the states; and the nation is responsible to foreign governments for their just treatment. Foreign governments have no relation with the states, but only with the federal government. It is, therefore, the duty of the federal government to provide that the treaty rights of aliens are accorded them. It logically follows that legal proceedings involving aliens should be handled exclusively in federal, not in state courts. The nation must provide that treaty and other rights shall be accorded aliens, regardless of the ignorance or prejudice of unfriendly localities.

It might perhaps be wise by special provision to allow local courts to handle minor matters, such as misdemeanors and transgressions of police regulations and city ordinances. The general principle, however, should be as stated above. To some this suggestion may seem a matter chiefly of theory, yet it is at this moment one of international importance. California and other states hide behind the national flag in their treatment of the citizens of Japan.

In 1864 the Japanese government failed to compel one of the clans to observe a recently made treaty allowing foreigners certain rights. Thereupon several of the Powers proceeded directly to the obstreperous clan and taught it a lesson on the importance of national unity and of obedience on the part of each clan to the international arrangements made by the central government.

The United States has for sixty years pledged her friendship and good-will to Japan. In several Pacific Coast states legislation has been repeatedly proposed highly insulting and, if passed, seriously injurious to the citizens of Japan. All local legislation affecting differently the interests of citizens of other nations should be absolutely impossible.

A National Commission on Biological and Social Assimilation is needed. This should be a commission of expert biologists, psychologists, and sociologists of international repute, and should be adequately financed. The results of such study should be embodied in national laws concerning (1) the intermarriage of individuals of different races; (2) the elimination by sterilization of those whose heredity renders procreation a menace to the nation; and (3) wise methods for Americanizing already compacted and unassimilated groups of aliens.

There is no more intricate, and at the same time important problem confronting our country to-day than that of the intermarriage of the races.

We need rational national laws on this subject. It is absurd for California to have laws forbidding the marriage of whites and Mongolians while Colorado does not. It is preposterous to make what is perfectly legal in Colorado or Navada a crime in California. And the California law is of no practical effect, for she has to recognize the legitimacy of mixed marriages if performed outside of her own limits. If the California law rests on good scientific grounds, then it should be national; if it does not, then California should have no such law.

Systematic Education of Public School Children in Oriental History is another item in the writer's vision of the new American Oriental

policy. Indeed, for the general elimination of race prejudice education is needed in regard to the histories of all the peoples from whom immigrants come to our shores. Anthropological readers should be prepared, devoting one or more chapters to each race and people of whom representatives live in our land, written from an appreciative standpoint and setting forth the notable deeds of each. They should be well illustrated with fine engravings of the best representatives, dressed in modern European clothing in order to avoid those caricatures which are so common in pictures of strange peoples. Such readers would help the young to get over their spontaneous feelings of race antipathy.

The splendid deeds of heroism done by Jew and Spaniard, by Italian and Hungarian, French, German, and English, Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoo, should all be set forth with appreciation. Japan and China and India have had their illustrious histories no less than England, Germany, and France. Should not the outstanding characters and achievements of these lands be taught to our young? George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, and many English and European heroes of progress and high ideals are known, not only by name, but also for what they did, to all in Japan who have had a secondary education, and to all the higher classes in elementary schools. How many in our land, even college graduates, could tell anything whatever of Shotoku Taishi, Kusunoki Masashige, Nichiren, Shonen, and other great leaders in Japan? It is high time that the study of Oriental peoples and histories should be introduced into our public schools. It would help greatly to race reconciliation, even as kindly and truthful histories of the Civil War have done much to reconcile North and South.

I now sum up the various items in the proposed new American Oriental policy:

1. American citizenship should be granted to every qualified individual regardless of race.

2. Immigration from any land should be allowed on a percentage rate of those from that land already naturalized, with their American-born children.

3. There should be a bureau of alien registration and education.

4. The granting of naturalization should be vested in a bureau of naturalization.

5. There should be direct federal responsibility for all legal and legislative matters in which aliens as such are involved.

6. A national commission should be appointed to study and report on the problems of biological and sociological assimilation.

7. Children and young people in public schools should be educated in Oriental history.

Such are the outlines of a comprehensive policy for the treatment of all races and nations and the care of all resident aliens in our lands. To some it may perhaps seem a misnomer to call this plan a new Oriental policy, for it advocates nothing distinctive regarding Orientals. True! And this exactly is the reason for calling it our new Oriental policy. It is a policy which does not discriminate against Asiatics, and, therefore, it is new. It is new both as to its spirit and as to its concrete elements.

The early adoption of some such policy as this is important. Until the whole Asiatic problem is fundamentally solved by national legislation, there is every reason to anticipate further aggressive anti-Japanese legislation by the Pacific Coast states. Further discriminative legislation, however, would still further alienate the friendly feeling of Japan and render still more complicated and difficult of solution the international situation. The early adoption of the main features of this policy would assure California on the one hand that no swamping Asiatic immigration is to be allowed, thus securing what she demands. Anti-Japanese legislation would no longer be desired by any responsible section of the people, and the cause of international friction would be removed. The adoption of such a policy would also satisfy and even please Japan, granting the substance of what she urges.

As regards the Chinese also the situation would be much improved. The fairness, yes, the generosity of our policy, adopted by us with no pressure from her side, would serve to strengthen and deepen the spirit of friendship for America and render still more effective American influence in guiding that new republic through the troublous times that are surely ahead.

If America can permanently hold the friendship and trust of Japan and China through just, courteous and kindly treatment, she will thereby destroy the anti-white Asiatic solidarity. If America proves to Asia that one white people at least does not despise the Asiatic as such nor seek to exploit them, but rather on a basis of mutual respect and justice seeks their real prosperity, they will discover that what they feared as the "White Peril" may in fact be turned into an inestimable benefit. And that change of feeling will bring to naught the military "Yellow Peril" now dreaded by the whites.

America's new Oriental policy would go far toward instilling new principles into other nations and thus help mightily in the promotion of universal good-will and the permanent peace of the world. These,

however, are the essential conditions under which each race, nation, and even tribe can make its own peculiar contribution to the richer life of the world.

Even from the lower standpoint of commercial and economic interests, the policy of justice toward and friendship with the Orient is beyond question the right one. Armed conflict, or even merely sullen hostility, mightily hampers trade success. Rapid internal development in China and a rising standard of life among her millions means enormous trade with America, if we are friendly and just. And unselfish friendship and justice on our side will hasten the uplift of China's millions. Our own highest prosperity is inseparable from that of all Asia. So long as friendship is maintained and peace based on just international relations, the military yellow peril will be impossible. In proportion as the scale of living among Asia's working millions rises to the level of our own is the danger of an economic yellow peril diminished.

Every consideration, therefore, of justice, humanity, and self-interest demands the early adoption of the general principles of this new Oriental policy. It conserves all the interests of the East and the West and is in harmony with the new era of universal convergent evolution of mankind.

Is not this a policy in which American Christians can unite? Japan looks to American Christians to carry out, in our national life, the policy of international justice and friendship to which we are pledged; pledged by the fact that we are Christian people, and also by the fact that Japan opened her doors sixty years ago to the promises we then made of permanent friendship.

In discussing California's recent legislation, Count Okuma has stated that this problem of the relation of the races is not one that can be solved by warfare, diplomacy or legislation, but only by the Christians of America applying their Christian principles to the practical problems of international life.

There are 23,000,000 professed Protestant Christians in America. Can we afford to let this appeal of Japan go unheeded?

The Christians of this country, united, can carry out such a program if they will. Christianity itself is at stake. Unless American Christians unitedly bestir themselves to Christianize our national treatment of the Asiatic, not only the success of Christian missions in the Orient, but the sincerity of the world-wide missionary enterprise of the church and the vitality itself of the Christian life of our country will be profoundly affected.

Such is the call which, as an American missionary long resident in Japan, I make to the Christians of America on behalf, not of Japan alone, but also all of Asia; nor yet on behalf of Asia alone, but of the whole world, including our own beloved land. For on the right attitude of the West to the East hangs the fate of the whole world for centuries to come:

"Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That sense and worth o'er a' the earth
May bear the gree and a' that,
For a' that and a' that,
It's coming yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that."

AN AFTER-WORD

The outbreak of war in Europe emphasizes with terrible point the contention that international distrust and animosity lead to such development of armaments that it is only a matter of time till collisions occur. Two years ago the Balkan wars and now the whole European tragedy suggest what may happen fifty or a hundred years hence when Asia, armed and united and filled with fear of and hatred toward the white man, undertakes a war of vengeance and greed, and the white man either defends himself or retaliates.

If the armaments of Europe cannot guarantee peace between its own peoples, how can they guarantee the peace of the world, a world that has acquired the skill and the wealth made possible by modern civilization?

The problem of world peace is the problem, not of peace treaties, arbitration clauses, and Hague Courts, but of mutual good-will and confidence among the nations. And this must now include the nations of Asia. How can this spirit be developed? If Asia fears and distrusts Christendom, Asia will arm. As Asia arms, Christendom will increasingly fear and distrust her. Militarism will grow from decade to decade in every great land until a world conflict will be inevitable.

Does it not follow that the way to establish world peace and to keep Asia from arming is for Christendom to act toward Asia in such ways as to make her trust us? But how can this be accomplished unless we *voluntarily* do her justice, keep our treaties, and deal with all Asiatics who come to our lands in ways that we ourselves would like to be dealt by?

In a word, the international relations of nations, as of individuals, must be Christian if there is to be world peace and wholesome growth. Nations must not only be just and honest, but they must be kindly and helpful in their international relations. This and this alone will evoke real good-will and mutual trust between nations.

New York, Oct. 1, 1914.

APPENDIX II

A NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY

[The following address was delivered in substance before the Senate committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Jan. 31, 1914, and at their request was written out in full and placed on record. Copies were presented to Secretary of State William J. Bryan and President Woodrow Wilson, both of whom granted Mr. Gulick interviews, February 2, 1914. Viscount Chinda, Ambassador from Japan, also requested copies for transmission to his government in Tokyo. Statements by responsible Japanese warrant the belief that the general policy here outlined, including the restrictions of immigration here proposed, would be quite acceptable to the Japanese, since it is free from invidious race discrimination. This address with the preceding have constituted the substance of the addresses given by Dr. Gulick widely through the country.]

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY

America should admit as immigrants only so many aliens from any land as she can assimilate.

Assimilation however takes place largely by means of those already assimilated and naturalized, who know the languages, customs, and ideals of both peoples—ours and theirs.

All immigration should therefore be limited to a definite per cent. (say five) annually from each land of those already assimilated from that land. This rate would allow to enter all who might come from North Europe, would cut down immigration somewhat from South and East Europe, and allow only a slight immigration from Asia. This would avoid the objection of differential treatment of the nations and so be in equal harmony with the dignity of all.

Provision should also be made for the care and rapid assimilation of all who do come to America. It is therefore important to establish

A Bureau of Registration; all aliens to be and to remain registered until they become citizens. The annual registration fee should be, say $10.

Also a Bureau of Education—to set standards, prepare text-books, and hold examinations free of charge. The registration fee should be reduced with every examination passed.

Also a Bureau of Naturalization. Certificates of graduation from the bureau of education and of good behavior from the bureau of registration should be essential to naturalization.

All new citizens should take the oath of allegiance to the flag on the Fourth of July; on which day there should be processions with banners and badges, welcome orations and responses.

Eligibility to American citizenship should be based on personal qualification. The mere fact of race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification.

Such a policy would completely solve not only the perplexing Japanese problem, but also the dreaded yellow peril and the difficult problems connected with European immigration. It would put America right with all Asia; maintain and deepen our international friendship; and help to promote the uplift of China and secure our share of the enormous commerce which is to develop between China and the West in the near future.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Senate Committee on Immigration:

I appreciate the honor of this opportunity to present certain considerations bearing upon America's Japanese problem.

In response to Senator Dillingham's request I begin with a few words of a personal nature.

A PERSONAL STATEMENT

For twenty-six years I have been in Japan as a missionary of the American Board of the Congregational Churches. During my first two periods of service (nineteen years), I was engaged in the usual work of a missionary living in the interior. For the last seven years I have been located in Kyoto, having the chair of systematic theology in Doshisha University and also serving as stated lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyoto in the department of comparative religion.

These later years have brought me into contact with leading educators both in Kyoto and also in Tokyo. Because of the part which I took in the discussion which arose in connection with the so-called "Conference of the Three Religions" (February, 1912), really an official reception given by the government to the heads of the twelve Shinto, fifty-four Buddhist, and seven Christian bodies, I was brought into relation with a group of Japan's political leaders. Shortly

after that the "Association Concordia" was organized, consisting of leaders in education, business, and the government, whose aim is the promotion of better mutual knowledge by the East and the West of each other's moral and spiritual life. Being one of the organizers of this association, my acquaintance with Japan's leaders has been somewhat intimate.

I was in Japan when the recent anti-Japanese agitation and legislation took place in California and am familiar with its influence on the feelings of the people of Japan toward America.

As one of the organizers of the Oriental Peace Society of Kyoto—later united with the Peace Society of Tokyo to form the Peace Society of Japan, and as one of the vice-presidents from the beginning of the American Peace Society of Japan, I am familiar with the thought of Japanese and Americans who are interested in peace.

I am familiar also with the thought of the American missionaries in Japan—over 900—whose work in proclaiming the gospel is seriously hindered by the rising suspicion and animosity between the two nations. They are deeply concerned not merely because it hampers their work, but still more because racial animosity is itself a contradiction to the central principles of the gospel which proclaims peace, good-will and universal human brotherhood.

Missionaries as individuals and in groups took action at that time, seeking to inform Americans as to the significance and probable result of California's proposed anti-Asiatic legislation. Resolutions and memorials were sent to America by letter and by cable. The Japan Mission of the American Board, for instance, sent a memorial to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America asking for the appointment of a committee to study the entire Oriental problem from the standpoint of Christian statesmanship, with a view to guiding the churches and the American nation to the adoption of a truly Christian national policy.

Last July (1913) I returned to the States on my furlough. On reaching California, I spent three months studying the situation there. For I felt that only as I knew the facts from both sides—recognizing to the full California's contentions and rights—would I be able to make any contribution to the solution of this most important yet difficult problem. The result of that study is a volume now in the press on *The American Japanese Problem,* in which I study with some fulness the entire question of the racial relations of the East and the West.

Not long after my arrival in America, I was invited by the secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches to attend a meeting in New York of its Commission on Foreign Missions in order to pre-

sent more fully the subject-matter of the memorial sent in by the Japan Mission of the American Board. As a result of that and other conferences on the subject, I am now visiting leading cities under the auspices of the Federal Council to lay before the American people the problem with which America is confronted because of the rise of a new Asia.

The old attitude of the United States toward the Oriental is not suited to the new times in which we live. The true interests of America require the promotion of mutual friendship of Asia and America and the abandonment of differential race legislation.

Passing now to my main theme let me present considerations for urging that America should give up her differential treatment of Asiatics.

A NEW ASIA

Mankind has entered on a new era. Races and civilizations, for ages separated and self-sufficient, are now face to face; their interests are rapidly commingling. New relations are being established between the East and West, between the masterful white nations and the hitherto peaceful and submissive peoples of Asia. The great races are proud, ambitious, determined. These qualities are part cause of their greatness.

JAPAN

When Japan first came in contact with the white man (1553), she welcomed him. For sixty years she gave him full opportunity. About a million Japanese, it is believed, became Christian. Then when Japan learned of the white man's aggressions and ambitions for world conquest, she concluded that the white man meant a white peril, to avoid which she turned him out, exterminated Christianity and for 250 years carried out her policy of exclusion most completely.

THE EFFECT OF EXCLUSION

By that policy, however, she lost the stimulus of international relations and fell behind. In 1853 she woke to discover how belated and helpless she was, due to her exclusion policy. She wavered for a decade, suffered revolution brought on by different conceptions as to the right policy to take to the white man and finally late in the sixties adopted

JAPAN'S NEW POLICY

This policy is that of learning the secrets of the white man's power, in order to maintain national existence and honor on a basis of equality with the white man. This has been Japan's controlling

ambition for fifty years. Her war with Russia proclaimed her success. Japanese cannon at Mukden were heard around the world, proclaiming to the white man the end of his undisputed supremacy, and to the colored races the way in which to meet the white peril. All Asia awoke to hope and effort.

HER AMBITION

Japan is not yet satisfied. National existence is indeed assured, provided she can maintain her military armament; she now has complete sovereignty within her own territories. But her citizens are not admitted to equal rights and opportunities with those of other lands—in America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and British Africa. Her sense of national dignity is affronted. The limitation recently placed upon her by California, and the violent anti-Asiatic policy urged by the whole Pacific Coast has shocked and pained her deeply. Japan regards as highly humiliating all proposals to make general Asiatic exclusion laws.

JAPAN'S GRATITUDE FOR AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

This situation is the more painful to her because until lately our relations have been so ideal, so helpful, so friendly. For decades she has been profoundly grateful to the United States. We brought her out of her long seclusion, watched patiently over her, guided her through those trying decades when she was first learning from the masterful white man the ways of the modern world. We protected her interests in international matters. We returned in 1883 the Shimonoseki indemnity, amounting to $785,000.87. Thousands of Japanese students have had ideal treatment in our Christian homes and in our high schools, colleges, and universities. Our aid and support at the time of the war with Russia were invaluable to her and were highly appreciated. While there are doubtless jingoes in Japan who have uttered foolish words and threats, the prevailing temper of the people as well as of the government has been one of gratitude and persistent good-will. In spite of recent rebuff and unkind words and treatment there is a remarkable spirit of patience and moderation. They are still proceeding with expensive plans for the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco.

DEEPLY WOUNDED, BUT STILL HOPING

Japan is still hoping that some method will be found of providing for California's just demands without subjecting her to humiliation. She has taken at its face value, the first treaty she ever made with a whate race, namely, with America, which reads: "There shall be per-

fect, permanent, and universal peace, and sincere and cordial amity between the United States and Japan and between their people respectively, without exception of persons and places." This friendship solemnly pledged, has been loyally carried out by Japan. But it cannot be denied that her friendly feelings and her admiration for America have considerably cooled. Many indeed are indignant; all are waiting eagerly to learn if America as a whole will support the anti-Asiatic policy so urgently pressed by Pacific Coast legislators and agitators.

JAPAN IS MISUNDERSTOOD

There is wide misunderstanding in California and in America as a whole as to what Japan asks. She does not ask for free immigration for her laborers. She recognizes that any large entrance of Japanese into California would produce both economic and racial difficulty. She is ready to do whatever may be needful, consistent with national honor and dignity, to save America from embarrassment on both lines, as her faithful administration of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" witnesses. She is willing to continue holding back all Japanese laborers from coming to this country.

WHAT JAPAN EARNESTLY PLEADS FOR

What Japan does ask and asks earnestly is that there shall be no invidious and humiliating race legislation which shall involve her fair name. Japan stands for national honor in international relations. For this she has been strenuously striving for half a century. Is she not to be respected for it? Is not this sensitiveness and insistence one of the evidences that she deserves it? Economic opportunity in California is not her primary interest or insistence but recognition of manhood equality. Is not the honor of an individual or a nation of more importance than everything else? Is the maintenance of friendship possible between two nations when one insists on humiliating the other?

CHINA

For ages China was so vast, preponderant, self-sufficient, and self-satisfied that she simply ignored the white man when he appeared on her horizon. Even the wars by which England forced opium on China did not apparently disturb her much.

But when port after port was taken by foreign powers; when Germany took Kiaochow for the killing of two missionaries; and when Russia took Port Arthur after it had been forced back from Japan; and when foreigners were gaining mining rights and railroad

concessions throughout China, Chinese began to realize that something must be done, or they would soon cease to exist as a self-governing people.

FAILURE OF CHINA'S EXCLUSION POLICY

China's first reaction was like Japan's (and incidentially California's), namely, a policy of exclusion. That brought on the Boxer uprising (1900). It was, however, too late. The armies of the Allies relieved Peking and proved to China that the white man and Western civilization could neither be excluded nor ignored. They imposed upon her as penalty an indemnity, far in excess of expenses, amounting to $687,566,705.

CHINA LEARNS FROM JAPAN

After a few years of vacillation, confusion, turmoil and revolution, came Japan's victory over Russia (1905), which announced to the world that a colored race can hold its own against the white man and that the way by which to do it is to learn all that the white race knows. China listened and learned.

One month after Japan made peace with Russia, China abolished her system of classical education, over 2,000 years old, and started on the new policy. Since then China has been introducing Western education, Western science, Western political life at a tremendous rate. The Manchu dynasty is gone. The characteristic Chinese cue is gone from large sections of China. We now have a new China, ambitious, energetic, resourceful, progressive, and becoming self-conscious. Her young men are in all the capitals of Christendom learning Western ways. As a short cut to Western knowledge tens of thousands of Chinese students have studied in Japan.

Some decades will doubtless be needed before China will reach the stage of occidentalization already reached by Japan. But she will get there as surely as time moves onward.

CHINA'S FRIENDSHIP FOR AMERICA

At present America holds an enviable position in China. Above all other nations we are recognized as having been her friend. We have never seized a foot of her territory nor squeezed her for indemnities. On the contrary our dealings over there, at least, have been friendly and helpful. We helped her at the critical time of the Boxer uprising. We are remitting annually a part of our share of the Boxer indemnity, amounting in all by 1940 to nearly $40,000,000. We would have no part in the grasping six-power loan; we were the first to recognize the Republic. Our missionaries throughout China have

displayed that characteristic spirit of American democracy which wins the common man. The new Chinese education is practically in the hands of Americans. China is cordially our friend and admirer to-day, as Japan was for several decades.

WILL AMERICA RETAIN CHINA'S FRIENDSHIP?

But how long will this last? When China secures inner political stability, a system of popular education, newspapers in every city and telegraphic communication with the world, and has the news of the world at sunrise as Japan has, and when China learns that in spite of all her history, national prestige, power and progress, her citizens in America are subjected to indignities and treatment accorded to those of no European people,—not because of personal defect or wrong, but wholly because of race; when she learns that for decades Chinamen in America were helpless victims of local race antagonism, were indeed on occasion even murdered, and that nevertheless the United States as such never sought to aid or protect them and never attempted even to punish the guilty murderers; and when China as a nation awakes to the fact that America has made no effort to keep her treaties with China; when she learns that America promised in a solemn treaty that "Chinese laborers now (1880) in the United States . . . shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exceptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation," and yet that the authorities at Washington allowed California to deprive Chinese subjects in that state of the right to buy and sell land or to lease it on terms allowed to other aliens; when China learns these things, as learn them she will in time, is it likely that Chinese friendship for, and trust in America, will be maintained? And when China learns that America, like all the other peoples holding Canada, Australia, and South Africa, has established high walls of exclusion based entirely on race grounds, is she likely to be quite complacent?

Is it not altogether likely rather that China will follow in Japan's footsteps; the friendship will cool down; disappointment will follow disappointment, until friendship changes to animosity, good-will to enmity?

THE YELLOW PERIL

Many in this country and Europe are already looking forward to the date when all Asia, united and armed as Japan is to-day, shall confront the white man. If the white races follow the policy of Asiatic exclusion and disdain, grounded exclusively on race difference, will not our attitude evoke a corresponding attitude on the part of

Asiatics? But if enmity widely prevails in Asia against the white man there will also be wide suspicion and many unfriendly deeds; and these will be doubly reciprocated by the West. And because of this condition there will be felt in both East and West the need of progressive armament to preserve peace and prevent attack.

The present policy, therefore, so widely adopted by the white race, in Canada, on our Pacific Coast, in New Zealand, Australia, and British Africa, the policy of invidious differential racial treatment, and of holding these vast, sparsely peopled continents for exclusive opportunity for the white man, regardless of the conditions, needs, or abilities of the other races,—this, I say, is a policy fraught with grave danger.

This condition is already being discussed by Orientals. They call it

"THE WHITE PERIL"

If you want to see how Japan feels on this question listen to this utterance of Professor Nagai in his recent article on the "White Peril:"

"If one race assumes the right to appropriate all the wealth, why should not the other races feel ill-used and protest? If the yellow races are oppressed by the white races and have to revolt to avoid congestion and maintain existence, whose fault is it but the aggressors'? If the white races truly love peace and wish to preserve the name of Christian nations they will practise what they preach and will soon restore to us the rights so long withheld. They will rise to the generosity of welcoming our citizens among them as heartily as we do theirs among us. We appeal to the white races to put aside their race prejudice and meet us on equal terms in brotherly cooperation."

The above quotation is from a long article published in Japan last May.

Some three years ago while lecturing in the Imperial University of Kyoto, the secretary of the Young Men's Buddhist Association brought me a letter from the secretary of the Young Men's Hindu Association of Calcutta describing the evil deeds of the white race and asking if Hindu and Japanese young men should not combine to oppose the white man and to drive him out.

Last August (1913) a summer school was held in Osaka under the auspices of the great daily, the *Morning Sun* (*Asahi*). One of the addresses was delivered by A. Dharmapala on "Japan's Duty to the World." I give a few quotations.

"Islam destroyed India, Christian England demoralized China . . . Only Japan escaped these destructive icebergs . . . It is the white peril that the Asiatic races have to fight against . . . The white

peril is a reality, the yellow peril is only a phantom . . . How are we to subdue the arrogance of the white races? . . . Japan by her superior morality subdued the most powerful of European nations."

These discussions are but mutterings now and the feelings they represent may still be allayed. If we treat the Asiatic with a consideration for his needs and welfare, if we help him to walk in the modern ways, and aid him in maintaining his sovereignty and national dignity, we shall unquestionably win and hold his friendship. There will then be no white peril for him and no yellow peril for us.

But if we disregard his problems, his needs, his ambitions, and his dignity; if our first aim is white race supremacy established by force, with a crushing heel on the yellow man's head; if we give him no fair share or opportunity in the world's great storehouse; if we humiliate him, and insist on certain disqualifications regardless of personal character or ability, disqualifications based entirely on race, then the future relations of East and West are indeed ominous.

THE ECONOMIC YELLOW PERIL

The yellow peril is not exclusively military. To some, the economic aspect is even more serious. When all Asia is fully awake, educated in modern science, equipped with factories, railroads, steamships, and mines, what will become of our commerce, and of our industrial classes? Will not Asia by her low standard of life put up an invincible industrial competition? Will she not pull us down to her level? Can we permanently maintain a high scale of life against a world living on a low level? That is a problem for economists.

But one or two things I think I can say. The solution of this problem, both for us and for them, can be found far more easily on a basis of friendship than of enmity between East and West. We can solve our own economic problem more certainly if neither they nor we are crushed by the excessive military expenses which would be inevitable if the fear of the military yellow and white perils are rampant.

And further, no small part of the solution consists in raising the ideals and scale of life among Asia's millions. By raising their manhood and their entire mode of life, the economic competition will be diminished. This is visibly beginning to take place in Japan. The cost of living has doubled there the past decade. Moreover in proportion as the higher standard and scale of life rises will Asia's purchasing power from us advance with all that that signifies.

Now it is not hard to see that the best conditions under which to elevate the masses of Asia and bring them up to our level is on a basis of friendliness. Help them to learn. Let them come and live

among us and go back, carrying with them their new ideas and ideals. Set the best possible conditions for the promotion of the knowledge of the Heavenly Father, of man's own divine nature and of the universal brotherhood. These are the great creative ideas which lift individuals and peoples to higher levels of life and to nobler manhood. Even though for wholly selfish reasons, we wish to lift Asia, these are the means by which to do it. In imparting these ideas, it will be a great thing if missionaries in China can point to America with pride and say, "There is the land where those ideas are being carried out, not only in the relations of private life, but in business and industry and also in international relations."

Inability to make this statement to-day, except in a limited way, is probably the most serious obstacle to the propagation of the gospel in non-Christian lands. Increasingly difficult will the missionary work become if there is rising racial animosity and injustice. For the very substance of the gospel is thereby denied by the conduct of these peoples who know the gospel ideal most completely.

CALIFORNIA'S JUST DEMANDS

A fair statement of the case, however, demands also full appreciation of California's situation. Were immigration as freely granted to Asiatics as it has been to Europeans, the Pacific Coast states would undoubtedly be invaded by millions in the course of a few years. Coming by the hundred thousand annually, they could not learn our language, nor we theirs. Assimilation and mutual understanding would be impossible. The result would be Asiatic and American institutions and customs struggling side by side, an imperium in imperio, with endless rivalry and serious danger of collision. California is absolutely right in her demand that she shall be free from such a danger. Only those immigrants should be allowed to enter, reside permanently, and own land in California or anywhere in the United States who can become citizens and be completely assimilated.

THE SOLUTION OF AMERICA'S ORIENTAL PROBLEM

Since, therefore, differential race treatment on the one hand must be given up and since on the other hand free Asiatic immigration is not to be tolerated, it would seem as though we were involved in an insoluble problem, caught on the horns of a dilemma. In reality, however, the problem is not so difficult as it appears. The alternatives are not free immigration or complete exclusion.

Since we must limit Asiatic immigration, and since we must also treat all races equally, it follows that we must limit all immigration.

It follows likewise that we must find some method or principle which, applied equally to all, will secure the needed results. We find this in an immigration law which bases limitation on the principle of assimilability.

An immigration law which treats all races exactly alike—this, and this alone, is friendly. A law which admits only so many annually as we can reasonably expect to assimilate—this preserves our institutions and provides that the white man's land shall remain white in civilization and control.

And these two provisions lead on to a third, namely, provision that those who are admitted to our country shall be aided in the process of assimilation. In other words we need to provide for the rapid and certain assimilation of those who do enter. For our own sake, as well as for those who come to us, we cannot afford to have any considerable population residing in our midst but taking no essential part in our national life.

We should admit into the United States as immigrants only as many aliens from any land as we can expect to assimilate. Assimilation, however, takes place largely by means of those already assimilated and naturalized, for they know the languages, customs, ideals, political and social life of both peoples, theirs and ours, and the processes they themselves have passed through in becoming Americans.

All immigration therefore should be limited to a definite per cent. per annum from each people, of those from that people already assimilated (naturalized), with American born children of the first generation. Five per cent. suggests itself as a suitable rate with which to begin the experiment.

In order to present my proposition with as much definiteness as possible, I have formulated it in the shape of

A PROPOSED AMENDMENT

to the present Immigration Law.

Be it enacted, etc., That Section 2 of the Immigration Act of February 20, 1907, shall be amended by the addition of the following proviso:

Provided, That the number of aliens of any race (single mother tongue group), who may be admitted to the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to five per cent. of the number of native-born persons of the first generation, together with the number of naturalized citizens of that race in the United States at the time of the national census next preceding; except that aliens returning from a temporary visit abroad; aliens coming to join a husband, wife,

father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson, or granddaughter; aliens who are government officers, and aliens who are travelers or visitors and who do not engage in any remunerative occupation or business in the United States, shall not be included within the five per cent. limit above provided. Provided, further, That all laws relative to the exclusion of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent are hereby repealed.

This, gentlemen, is a proposition that no doubt seems to you chimerical, yet it is in fact the only policy really practical. So important are the principles upon which this proposal is based that I venture to emphasize them.

THE FUNDAMENTAL POSTULATES

which underlie the proposed immigration policy are:

1. That the United States shall treat all races on a basis of equality; that there shall be no invidious or humiliating treatment of any race. This does not mean, however, nor necessitate a policy of wide open doors to all races—a policy of free unrestricted immigration.

2. That we can wisely admit into our country for permanent residence only so many aliens and of such peoples as we can assimilate. Any other policy is fraught with danger. We cannot consent to the permanent presence in our land of alien populations, who will be as cancers in our body politic—in us but not of us.

3. That the number whom we can confidently expect to assimilate yearly depends in some close way on the number of those already assimilated. Those born abroad, who have, however, been here long enough to learn our language and our political life and to accept our ideals are the ones to exert wholesome influence on newcomers from their own native people. They constitute the natural channel by which the newcomers enter our life. The larger the number of naturalized citizens from any particular foreign people, the larger the number whom we can safely admit from that people. This then is a ratio—a matter of per cent.; I suggest five per cent. I am not, however, particularly concerned with the five per cent. number, but only with the principle and with its equal application to every foreign people.

[At this point certain statistical material was introduced which is here dropped, because superseded by more recent statistics to be given later in this appendix.]

In this brief discussion I have of course considered only the question of immigration. Of equal importance, however, is the question of Asiatic assimilability and also the question of aiding all im-

migrants in such wise as to promote their rapid and wholesome incorporation into our national life. I regret that lack of time forbids their discussion, for upon these matters also I have much that I would like to say.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

If my argument has been correct, the new world situation, and especially the New Asia, requires of America changes in her international policies, especially as they concern the Orient. The continuance of flat Asiatic exclusion—which was possible and probably necessary in the nineteenth century—promises to bring serious disaster. A policy of restricted immigration, of general application, looking to the welfare of Asia as well as our own, together with adequate provision for the assimilation to our ideals and life of all who come to our shores, will alone secure those right and helpful relations which will promote the permanent peace and prosperity of both East and West.

America is the only country in the world to which is offered the opportunity of mediating thus between the East and the West. Our conduct during the next few decades seems likely to settle for centuries to come the relations of East and West. This question may possibly be hanging in the balance for a half century. The longer we delay starting upon the friendly and helpful course, the greater will be our difficulty in carrying it out and overcoming the anti-white suspicion and enmity already existing in the Orient and bound to grow with every decade of delayed justice.

In closing, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the committee, let me thank you most heartily for this opportunity to express some of the considerations which seem important not only to myself alone but to those whom I represent.

[In the course of the address many questions were asked and answered. It has seemed better, in preparing this account of what was said, to bring all these questions and answers together at the close.]

Question. Does not Japan demand of us what she does not grant to others? Does she not exclude Chinese laborers?

Answer. Japan has, indeed, deported Chinese laborers but not because of Chinese exclusion laws: All her laws relating to foreigners are general and apply to all races and nations equally. In a few cases Chinese laborers have been deported because of infringement of departmental regulations requiring that in every case before foreign labor is brought in, special permission shall be secured. What Japan objects to in our laws is invidious race legislation. She takes no exception to any legislation which treats all aliens alike.

Question. Does not Japan demand rights for land ownership for her citizens in California which she does not grant to foreigners in Japan?

Answer. No, I think not. Any foreigners in Japan, if they form a corporation and are legally incorporated (*Ho-jin,* Juridical Person), have exactly the same rights in every respect that are granted to a Japanese corporation. Not so with California's laws; there no corporation, the majority of whose members are Asiatics, may purchase or hold land. In Japan, a private individual may not indeed as yet purchase land in fee simple. But he is allowed to lease for indefinite periods. Many foreigners—I among them—have leases that run for 999 years with the clause added that in case the laws are changed at any time, the deed shall be changed to fee simple ownership without additional payment. Since all deeds have to be recorded in the government land office and must be sanctioned to be valid, this form of land ownership is recognized as legal by the government. The California law, in contrast to this. does not allow Asiatics to lease land for periods exceeding three years. In any case, however, Japanese land laws relating to aliens treat all races on a basis of absolute equality.

But it is not to be forgotten that more than three years ago the Diet passed a new land law providing among other things for the fee simple ownership of land by foreigners from countries which grant the same right to Japanese. Certain investigations, however, had to be carried out before it could go into effect, which apparently have not yet been completed.

Question. How did it happen that fee simple ownership was not granted at the beginning of foreign intercourse?

Answer. For 300 years the Japanese, in absolute ignorance about foreigners, came to believe almost every evil thing about them. When Japan was first opened, only the most restricted privileges could be granted them because of violent race prejudice. The government had to take and did take extraordinary precautions to secure to foreigners the safety and rights provided for by the treaties. As Japan learned the ways of white men and began to trust them, the restrictions were gradually relaxed, the government being ahead of the people as a rule and ever teaching them. When the final relaxation was made at the close of the nineties, and foreigners were allowed free travel without passports, many Japanese expected a great overwhelming flood to sweep through the interior. It was believed that if the right to fee simple ownership was given to foreigners, they would buy up every good piece of property in the country. Their anxiety was far keener

than has been that of California regarding Japanese land purchase in that state.

Question. Is not Japan oversensitive, threatening to go to war over little matters. Is she not oversolicitous about her national honor; does she not get insulted too easily? America for instance, because Russia refused to accord to American Jews traveling in Russia the rights we demand, simply cancelled the treaty, but there is not a particle of thought that we would go to war with Russia.

Answer. That is a very good question and a good illustration also. America abrogated the treaty with Russia because she felt that her national dignity was involved in the treatment given by Russia to American Jews. We will not allow, without protest, invidious or humiliating treatment of even one class of our citizens. In the case of Japan, her whole citizenship is involved on a race issue.

But there is another consideration to be borne in mind. Japan has made no threat of war nor even intimated it. In this respect likewise she resembles America, in the attitude to Russia.

It is well to remember that the talk of war between Japan and America has emanated wholly from sources on this side of the Pacific. There are sinister forces which utilize the Japan war-scare with which to promote their own interests. Japan knows that war with America across the Pacific is practically impossible. Moreover, Japan earnestly wishes to have friendship with us—far more than we do with Russia. Japan knows all too well that her future political skies are by no means free from clouds. Her fleet and army are maintained wholly without reference to the United States.

Of course there have been jingoes in Japan, who have caught up the war talk—but it first came from Europe and then from America. But the boasting or threatening words of a few irresponsible disturbers of the peace should not be mistaken for the intention of an entire nation.

Question. Was there not high excitement wide-spread in Japan over the California question?

Answer. I think I should say no to that. In Tokyo where most of the jingoes and small politicians congregate there was excitement and some hot talk. But there never was any mob of any size surging through the streets of Tokyo demanding war—as was asserted by certain alleged telegrams that appeared in the American press. In Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and elsewhere there were public meetings to hear what might be said on the subject. I spoke at the meeting in Kobe. There was not a particle of excitement. My line of discussion was to the effect that California was not wholly without reason; the

presence of so many Japanese in California did create a problem; that we in Japan did not have sufficiently accurate knowledge of the California situation to pass any final judgment; but that if the California state law contravened the treaty, the courts would rule the law unconstitutional.

In this connection, I wish to speak of the grave injury that is being done to both Japan and America by the irresponsible statements in the press regarding the motives and actions of each country. Every evil suspicion and surmise apparently is voiced as assured news. Only last Wednesday (Jan. 28) two senators (names not given of course) were quoted by the Washington *Post* as saying that they had positive information that the Japanese government was aiding the Mexican government with arms in order to embarrass our government. This statement was positively denied by President Wilson a couple of days later, but the story served to do its share of the work in making both countries suspicious of each other. I regard as one of the most serious dangers to the right relations of Japan and America the irresponsible and apparently maliciously fabricated "news" that finds such ready utterance in so many of our papers. The only real "yellow peril" to-day is the "yellow press."

Question. Do you think you can legislate race prejudice out of existence?

Answer. Of course not. But wise legislation should be based on facts, not on the fictions alleged as facts by race prejudice. Continuous education and just administration, I doubt not, will gradually overcome race prejudice. Race prejudice arises from ignorance. Its only cure is education.

Question. Is there not a fundamental difference of race between Asiatic and Caucasian, so that assimilation is impossible and intermarriage intolerable?

Answer. This is a large question, to which I have devoted three chapters in my forthcoming book on *The American-Japanese Problem.* I there distinguish between biological and social heredity and inheritance.

Sociologically speaking, Asiatics are as assimilable as any people; but we must take them in small numbers, provide for their education in English, and give them opportunity such as we give to other nationalities.

The results of intermarriage have not been sufficiently investigated to enable us to speak with certainty. Immoral intermarriages are certainly bad. Intermarriage preceding social assimilation is to be highly deprecated. My thought is that a commission on the problem

of race assimilation should be established, consisting of expert biologists, psychologists, and sociologists. After exhaustive scientific examination, if it is found that race intermarriage is harmful, as is popularly believed, a national law forbidding it should be enacted. The problem of "race purity" may and should be kept distinct from that of immigration, as President Eliot so clearly shows in his report to the Carnegie Peace Foundation.

APPENDIX III

ASIA'S APPEAL TO AMERICA

[The following discussion was first delivered in San Francisco, August, 1915, as one of the addresses given at the Congress held by the Asiatic Institute under the auspices of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. It deals especially with the relations of America and China.]

Europe's catastrophe has suddenly shown how closely interwoven is the fabric of the modern world. The interlinking of the life and interests of the nations had advanced much further than was realized. Even Asia begins to figure as a mighty factor in Occidental affairs. Some regard it as ominous. We talk of the "yellow peril;" yet for decades, nay for centuries, Asiatics have resented an actual and progressively overwhelming "white peril."

On the one hand there is China. Not for a century has her outlook been so bright. An alien dynasty has been driven from the throne; the nation is pushing forward with remarkable insistence for modern forms of government; the opium curse has been substantially eradicated; political graft is rapidly being eliminated, financial solvency seems now assured; Occidental education is proceeding rapidly; and desire for reforms is widespread. If China can avoid further alien intrusion her future is decidedly hopeful.

And there is Japan. Her heroic struggles to meet the new world-situation that confronted her when she came out of her long isolation called forth deep admiration in America. The brilliant ability of her students and national leaders and the whole-souled patriotism of her people have received full recognition and evoked high praise. Japan, however, has reached so high a development of power and ambition that some begin to fear and suspect her.

A NEW ERA IN HUMAN HISTORY

The adoption by Japan and China of the mechanical, economic, social, and political elements of Occidental civilization constitutes the beginning of a new era in human history. The changes rapidly occurring in Asia demand our attention. At this juncture, therefore, it is well that we pause to consider the entire situation. What is the duty of America at this time in its relations to Asia? What responsibilities

have we, if any? and, what is even more pertinent, what may we do to put and keep ourselves right with the Orient?

Both China and Japan are facing mighty problems. The early solution of those problems concerns, not themselves alone, but all the world. Our fate is in truth involved in theirs. The urgency accordingly of their appeal should command our earnest and sympathetic attention and secure our action. Our own national welfare through the long future, no less than our national character, are intimately involved in our response to that appeal.

China's appeal for justice and friendly treatment was made decades ago, but has been completely ignored by the statesmen and Christians of America. Japan's appeal is more recent. Will America heed it any better?

AMERICAN TREATMENT OF CHINA

The story of our dealings with China is, as a whole, one of which we need not be ashamed. We have not seized her territory, bombarded her ports, extracted indemnities, or pillaged her capitals as have other nations. On the contrary, we have helped preserve her from "partition" at a grave crisis in her relations with Western lands. We returned a considerable part of her Boxer indemnity that came to us. We have stood for the open door and a square deal. Our consular courts have been models of probity and justice. The work of our missionaries in hospitals, education, and in famine and flood relief has been highly appreciated.

In consequence of such factors the Chinese as a nation hold to-day a highly gratifying attitude of friendship toward us. So conspicuous has this friendship and preferential treatment become since the establishment of the Republic that other nations have begun to note it. In the reforms taking place in China, especially in her educational system, in her political and social reorganization, and in her moral and religious awakening, the influence of Americans is far beyond that exercised by any other people.

When we turn, however, to the story of what many Chinese have suffered here, our cheeks tingle with shame. The story would be incredible were it not overwhelmingly verified by ample documentary evidence. Treaties have pledged rights, immunities, and protection. They have, nevertheless, been disregarded and even knowingly invaded; and this not only by private individuals, but by legislators, and administrative officials. Scores of Chinese have been murdered, hundreds wounded, and thousands robbed by anti-Asiatic mobs, with no protection for the victims or punishment for the culprits. State legislatures, and even Congress, have enacted laws in contravention

of treaty provisions. Men appointed to federal executive offices have at times administered those laws and regulations in offensive methods.

Let us consider briefly some of the details of the situation. It will be well to premise that, all in all, Chinese in America have not been treated badly. In general they have received police protection; their lives have been safe; they have been able to carry on successful business. So attractive to them is the opportunity of life here that they have stayed on and every year not a few succeed in smuggling their way into our land. The dark picture about to be sketched, accordingly, is not to be understood as describing the regular features of Chinese experience.

AMERICAN CHINESE TREATY PLEDGES

Adequately to appreciate the full significance of our anti-Chinese legislation we must begin the story with a few quotations from treaties by which America invited Chinese to this country.

Article V. of the treaty of 1868 reads in part:

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively . . . for purposes of curiosity, trade or as permanent residents."

But Article VI, after promising reciprocal "most favored nation" enjoyment of "privileges, immunities and exemptions," adds that this does not "confer naturalization" upon their respective citizens. This clause doubtless meant that the mere fact of residence in the other's land did not of itself alone carry citizenship in that land, for up till 1880 a few Chinese were granted naturalization in the United States. In harmony with the provisions of this treaty considerable Chinese immigration into the United States occurred during the seventh and eighth decades of the last century.

Anti-Chinese agitation soon developed in the Pacific Coast states. Growing violent in the seventies, it led to the sending of a Commission to China which negotiated the supplementary treaty of 1880.

The principal provisions of this treaty are as follows:

Article I provides that: "the Government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence of Chinese (laborers), but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to . . . laborers."

Article II provides that: "Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, im-

munities, and exemptions which are accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

Article III provides that in case of ill treatment the "Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty."

Article IV provides that legislative measures dealing with Chinese shall be "communicated to the Government of China," and if found "to work hardship upon the subjects of China, consultations shall be held to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result."

DISREGARD OF TREATY PLEDGES

In spite, however, of the complete cessation of Chinese labor immigration, and in spite of the promises of our government to provide protection, "and most favored nation treatment," the unjust treatment of Chinese did not cease. The outrages committed on the Chinese during the eighties were even more frightful and inexcusable than those of the preceding decade.

In his discussion of the question whether the federal government should protect aliens in their treaty rights, Ex-President William H. Taft cites the cases of fifty Chinamen who suffered death at the hands of American mobs in our Western states, and of one hundred and twenty others, many of whom were wounded and robbed of all their property. The list does not profess to be complete. All these outrages have occurred since 1885.

"In an official note of February 15, 1886, riots were reported at Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka and other towns in California, involving murder, arson and robbery, and it was added that thousands of Chinese had been driven from their homes."

None of the criminals were punished in spite of the article in the treaty which expressly provides that in case "Chinese laborers meet with ill treatment at the hands of other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens of the most favored nation and to which they are entitled by treaty." Congress, it is true, has voted indemnities for families of those murdered, but financial remuneration can hardly be supposed to take the place of justice or to be a substitute for observance of treaty pledges.

It is sometimes said that Italians and other aliens suffered similarly from mob violence and they too were not protected, nor were the criminals punished, and that therefore China cannot complain of ex-

ceptional treatment. But is it not obvious that failure of the United States to fulfil its treaty pledges to Italy and other countries in no wise justifies similar failure toward China? Does it not rather show that the United States is culpable for failure to make adequate provision for the faithful performance of its treaty pledges? This moral and legal defect has become most conspicuous in our relations with China, but its culpability is in no wise lessened—rather it is aggravated—as soon as it becomes clear that the defect is entirely due to the failure of Congress to take the needed action. For provision for such action is made by the Constitution of the United States.

ANTI-CHINESE LEGISLATION

The failure of Congress seems inexcusable, for it found time to enact not only the first general exclusion law in harmony with the treaty with China, but also several supplementary laws, of which important clauses are admittedly in contravention to the treaty.

The Scott Law of 1888 and the Geary Law of 1892 are still in force, though the essential injustice of some of their provisions and their disregard of Chinese treaty rights are now recognized. They are producing constant anti-American feeling among Chinese legitimately in America. Even in cosmopolitan New York and in Boston, Chinese sometimes suffer from the acts of federal officers who supervise Chinese residents in the United States, acts, moreover which are required by the laws and administrative regulations dealing with the Chinese.

With regard to the Scott Law, Senator Sherman said that it was "one of the most vicious laws that have passed in my time in Congress." It was passed as a "mere political race between the two houses . . . in the face of a Presidential election." Senator Dawes sarcastically referred to keeping the treaties as long as we had a mind to. The law was "a rank unblushing repudiation of every treaty obligation . . . unwarranted by any existing danger—a violation such as the United States would not dare to commit toward any warlike nation of Europe."

With regard to the Geary Law, Professor Coolidge makes the following statement:

"Meanwhile the Chinese Minister at Washington, the Consul-general at San Francisco, and the Yamen at Peking were also protesting against the act. The Chinese Minister had steadily protested ever since the Scott Act against the plain violation of treaty; just preceding the Geary Act, he wrote six letters to Mr. Blaine, only two of which were so much as acknowledged. He now declared

that the Geary Act was worse than the Scott Act, for it not only violated every single article of the treaty of 1880 but also denied bail, required white witnesses, allowed arrest without warrant, and put the burden of proof on the Chinese. He quoted our own statement on the harsh and hasty character of the act, not required by any existing emergency, whose political motive was well understood both in China and the United States. In his final protest he said: 'The statute of 1892 is a violation of every principle of justice, equity, reason, and fair dealing between two friendly powers.'"

THE SUPREME COURT

Not unnaturally, both the Chinese, and Americans interested in maintaining right relations with China, looked to the Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional such laws as contravene treaties—for are not treaties "the supreme law of the land?" The Chinese accordingly brought forward a test case dealing with certain provisions of the Scott Act (1888).

Judge Field, who pronounced the judgment of the court, said: "It must be conceded that the Act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1868 and of the supplemental treaty of 1880, but it is not on that account invalid . . . . It (a treaty) can be deemed . . . only the equivalent of a legislative act, to be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress. . . . . It is the last expression of sovereign will and must control." "The question whether our government was justified in disregarding its engagements with another nation is not one for the determination of the courts . . . .This court is not a censor of the morals of the other departments of the government."

This made it clear that a treaty is not the "supreme law of the land" except as Congress makes it so. Congress can, without violation of the Constitution, repeal or amend any part of a treaty even without securing the consent of the other part to the treaty, and even without conference. Treaties are declared by this decision to have no binding power upon Congress. The Supreme Court declined to take note of the moral obligations of treaty pledges. Disappointing though it may be, this is unquestionably correct law. Aliens deprived by Congress of rights promised by treaties may not appeal to the Supreme Court for the enforcement of those rights. The Administration can indeed use the entire military force of the country to make a foreign nation observe its treaty obligations to us, but according to the interpretation of our Constitution, neither the Administration nor the Supreme Court can hold Congress to the observance of our treaty pledges. The President has, of course, the

power to veto an act of Congress, but experience shows that even Presidents do not always regard treaties as binding, for the treaty-ignoring laws have been signed by the Presidents then in office. This makes it clear that the moral obligations of our nation must be carefully safeguarded by the people themselves. We must hold our representatives in Congress to their moral responsibilities in international as in all other relations. This is a matter of moral energy—not of law.

AN OMINOUS SITUATION

Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, defending Germany's invasion of Belgium on the ground of necessity, argues that the United States takes the same attitude toward treaties as does Germany, and cites this very decision of the Supreme Court rendered by Judge Field. If we maintain that the United States was justified in its disregard of our treaty with China, what right have we to condemn Germany for its diregard of its treaty with Belgium? The degree of the consequences indeed differ enormously, but are not the moral issues identical?

CONGRESS CONTRAVENES TREATIES

In 1904 Congress again contravened the treaty with China. The treaty (1880) states that "the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence (of Chinese labor immigration) but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable."

In harmony with these explicit provisions, Congress provided in 1882, in 1892 and again in 1902 for the temporary suspension of Chinese labor immigration for periods of ten years each. By 1894, however, so many of the laws and treasury regulations dealing with the Chinese had become so manifestly violations of the treaty that a new one was prepared in Washington to meet the difficulty, embodying the principle features of the anti-Chinese legislation. It proved, however, so obnoxious to the Chinese Government that at the first opportunity, namely, at the expiration (1904) of the ten-year period for which the treaty itself provided, China denounced the treaty. The relations of the two countries therefore fell back upon the treaty of 1880, which had been neither rejected nor amended. In spite, however, of its provisions quoted above, Congress then enacted that "all laws regulating, suspending or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons—are hereby reenacted, extended and continued without modification, limitation or condition," thus again plainly contravening the treaty.

THE FOOTBALL OF PARTY POLITICS

The history of anti-Chinese legislation, as it has been carried

through Congress under the pressure of legislators from the Pacific Coast states, from the eighth decade of the last century even down to the present, and the way in which the Asiatic problem has been made the "football of party politics" are ill omens for the future relations of America with the Orient. Eight times in fourteen years anti-Chinese agitation on the Pacific Coast secured increasingly drastic and obnoxious legislation in Congress. "All but one of these measures was passed on the eve of an election under political pressure for avowed political purposes." That legislation contravened plain provisions of the treaties, to say nothing of the spirit, and disregarded courteous protests of Chinese ministers and ambassadors. China sent in a "stream of dignified and ineffectual protests." The Chinese Minister even charged us with duplicity in negotiating the treaty of 1880. "Mr. Bayard assured him that the President would veto any legislation which might be passed in violation of the treaty."

If the faithful observance of treaties between the nations of Europe constitutes the very foundation of civilization, as we are now vehemently told—and this is said to be the real reason why Great Britain is in the war—is not the faithful observance of treaties with Asiatics the foundation of right relations with them? In other words, do not treaties ratified by Congress have moral aspects which should place them on a higher level of authority than the ordinary acts of Congress? Disregard by Congress of this fundamental principle for the maintenance of right international relations is fraught with ominous consequences. Congress, of course, has the right to abrogate a treaty, but there is a right way and also a wrong way to do it. Is it any more right for a nation to abrogate an inconvenient treaty by simply passing laws in contravention of certain of its pledges than it is for an individual who has made a promise to another individual giving *quid pro quo* suddenly and, without conference, to ignore that promise? It is conceivable that Congress would have treated China as it has, had she been equipped as Japan is to-day, with the instruments of Occidental civilization?

Now when China becomes equipped with a daily press and adequate world news, when her national organization becomes better unified, more efficient and better equipped, when her self-consciousness is more perfectly developed, and when she learns that Chinese entering America have often suffered ignominious treatment, that Chinese lawfully here are deprived of rights guaranteed by long-standing treaties, and that privileges, granted as a matter of course to individuals of other nations are refused to Chinese on exclusively racial grounds, is it

not as certain as the sunrise that Chinese friendship for America will wane and serious possibilities develop?

Although China's appeal to us comes along many other lines also, I shall not dwell upon them. It is enough for the moment to note that there are such.

Let us turn next to American-Japanese relations.

AMERICAN TREATMENT OF JAPAN

For half a century that treatment was above reproach, and, being in marked contrast to that of other lands, called forth a gratitude toward, friendship for, and confidence in, America that Americans cannot easily realize. I must not do more than refer to our helpful diplomacy and our welcome to her students, giving them every facility, not only in our schools and colleges, but in our factories and industries.

The mutual attitude, however, of our two countries has begun to change. Tension more or less exists between us to-day. Papers in both countries frequently assert in startling headlines that war is certain. Multitudes in both lands accept these statements without question, and are developing mutual suspicion, distrust, and animosity. False stories are widely circulated in each land about the other, which are readily believed.

What is the cause of the new situation? And what should we do to remedy it? Let us briefly study Japan's problem.

Japan first came in contact with the white nations of Europe about 1650. For sixty years they had free opportunity. Under the instruction of Roman Catholic missionaries, many hundred thousand Japanese became Christians. Then Japan took fright at the white man's methods and ambitions. She closed her doors, drove out the missionaries and merchants, exterminated the Christian religion, and till 1853 lived a life of almost complete national seclusion. No Japanese were allowed to go abroad nor were foreigners allowed to enter her land.

THE WHITE PERIL

All this was done to escape the Occidental flood, which, during the intervening three hundred years, has engulfed the peoples of North, Central and South America, and large parts of Africa, Asia and Australia. China was forced by the so-called opium wars to give to white peoples, not only privileges for the abominable opium trade, but possession of ports for military and naval bases. Japan, unable longer to resist the encroachment of foreigners, in 1854 made treaties. After nearly a score of years of inner turmoil and a revolu-

tion, she frankly accepted the new world-situation created by the white nations, and undertook to learn their methods in order to meet them on a basis of equality. She has learned and is now equipped with "civilization," with bayonets, bullets and battleships.

RENEWED AGGRESSIONS IN CHINA

In the nineties, the "powers" of Europe, having completed their "division of Africa," began to look with greedy eyes on China. In 1896, Germany, Russia and France compelled Japan to return Port Arthur to China in order to maintain, as they stated in their deceitful diplomacy, the integrity of China, and provide for the permanent peace of the Far East. Then in 1897-1898, Germany took Kiaochow as indemnity for the killing of two German missionaries. Russia took Port Arthur to keep up the balance, England took Wei-hai-wei and France, Kwangchow. In each case, the impotent Manchu government made treaties with the aggressive "friendly powers," giving them increasing concessions and privileges. But the people got anxious. These Occidental aggressions led (1900) to the Boxer uprising. China's common people sought to turn the white man out and keep "China for the Chinese."

But it was too late. Six "civilized" armies marched up to Peking, and, to teach China a lesson regarding the sacredness of treaties and the white man's "rights," they saddled upon China an indemnity of $682,000,000, far exceeding the actual costs. Poor China!

Then, according to mutual agreement, all the allies withdrew their troops, except Russia. Ignoring her promise she not only left her troops in Manchuria, but began to send in thousands more. Japan got anxious. Negotiations were started. Russia dallied and delayed, meanwhile increasing her forces, completing her Siberian railroad, and gaining diplomatic and other footholds in Korea. That exasperating, insolent and ominous policy produced the war with Japan.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Japan felt that the complete possession by Russia of Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea threatened her very existence as an independent nation. The "partition of China" also would be a mere question of time. But Japan's earnest grasp at "civilization" had been so far successful that single-handed, though indirectly supported by her alliance with Great Britain, she beat back the bear from the north, and for the time being saved, not only herself, but also China from the impending white peril that had swept over all of South Asia from

Mesopotamia to Cochin-China and in North Asia from European Russia to Alaska. In the meantime, however, Japan's own problems were deepening.

JAPAN'S PLIGHT

Her population of 50,000,000, living on islands of less than 140,000 square miles (357 to the square mile), is growing at the rate of 700,000 annually. (California, with a population of 2,500,000, possesses 160,000 square miles. England's population is 356, while China proper averages less than 250 to the square mile). Japan's mountainous islands are not naturally fertile nor possessed of any considerable mineral resources. Japanese emigration to America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia or Africa, all sparsely peopled and possessed of vast natural resources, has become impossible because these lands are held by white nations and are declared to be "white man's lands." Japan's debt of over $1,000,000,000 was incurred in resisting the "white peril," and her annual expense for army and navy with which to protect herself from the aggressive peoples of Europe is $160,000,000 annually. Japan's aggregate national wealth is only about $30,000,000,000, while that of Great Britain is placed at some $80,000,000,000 and that of the United States at $187,000,000,000. Such is a bare outline of Japan's plight.

In the course of the history sketched above, Japanese laborers were invited first to Hawaii and later to California. At first they were welcomed. But with increasing numbers in California difficulties developed. In 1907 the situation became so acute that Japan, fearing the consequences and desiring by every honorable means to retain America's friendship and show her gratitude, entered upon the "Gentlemen's Agreement," by which no additional Japanese labor immigration to the United States should be allowed.

For eight years that agreement has been strictly carried out, resulting in a diminution of Japanese laborers in America of several thousand.

In spite, however, of these mutually honorable and friendly relations of the two governments, the anti-Japanese agitation continued in California and resulted in 1913 in anti-Japanese legislation.

It was highly resented by Japan as an affront to her national honor. It could hardly have been viewed otherwise, for Japan was honorably fulfilling her agreement. Japanese in California were diminishing in number and the amount of land owned by Japanese was a paltry 13,000 acres.

JAPAN'S CONTENTION

It needs to be clearly understood that Japan is not asking for special privilege of any kind, not even for free opportunity for immigration.

The sole point of Japan's contention with America is that Japanese already in America shall not be subjected to differential race legislation, which is naturally regarded as humiliating and unfriendly. There is no immigration question. It is a question of national honor. But Americans should not forget that in spite of recent rebuff, anti-Asiatic legislation, unkind words, a suspicious attitude, and unfriendly treatment, there has been in Japan a remarkable spirit of patience and moderation.

Japan is still hoping that some method will be found for providing for California's just demands without subjecting her to humiliation. She has taken at its face value the first treaty she ever made with a white race, namely, with America, which reads: "There shall be perfect, permanent and universal peace and sincere and cordial amity between the United States and Japan and between their people respectively, without exception of persons and places." This friendship, solemnly pledged, has been loyally maintained by Japan. But it cannot be denied that her friendly feelings and her admiration for America have considerably cooled. Many indeed are indignant; all are waiting eagerly to learn if America as a whole will support the anti-Asiatic policy so urgently pressed by Pacific Coast agitators. Indefinite continuation, however, of Japanese patience under treatment regarded as humiliating is not to be assumed.

Japan stands for national dignity and honor in international relations. She asks for full recognition among the nations. For this she has been strenuously striving for half a century. Is she not to be respected for it? Is not this sensitiveness and insistence one of the evidences that she deserves it? Economic opportunity in California is not the point of her interest or insistence, but recognition of manhood equality. Is not the honor of a nation of more importance than everything else? Is the maintenance of friendship possible between two nations when one insists on treatment or legislation that humiliates the other?

If now America desires to maintain the historic friendship with Japan and do her justice, we must first of all understand the real point of her contention. We must look at the questions involved from the standpoint not only of our interests but also of hers; we must gain her view-point, appreciate her problems, sympathize with her efforts, and recognize her attainments.

Such in bare outlines are a few of the multiform appeals to America of China and Japan. In the briefest term we may say that they seek for just and courteous treatment at our hands. They are not demanding economic advantages or opportunity, but human justice; respect for them as men.

How will America meet this appeal? Shall we go on our way unheeding? Shall we continue to disregard our treaties and humiliate our mighty neighbors across the Pacific? That were an ominous course.

Has not the time come for America to revise her Oriental policy? Can we not find a method for safeguarding our own welfare in ways that will neither humiliate them nor do them injustice.

HOW SHOULD AMERICA RESPOND?

First of all, Americans must be informed. A campaign of education in regard to Asiatic relations is urgently needed.

In the second place, we need a new Oriental policy. Such a policy would seem to require:

1. Congressional legislation giving adequate responsibility and authority to the Federal administration for the care and protection of aliens.

2. Immigration and other laws that treat all races exactly alike—this, and this alone, is friendly.

3. The law, moreover, should admit only so many immigrants as we can Americanize. This preserves our institutions and prevents economic disturbance.

I am proposing the numerical limitation of all immigration. Let the maximum annual male immigration from any particular people be some definite per cent. (say five) of the sum of the American-born children of that people plus the naturalized citizens of the same people.

4. Those who are admitted should be aided in the process of Americanization.

5. And when they have reached the required standards of citizenship they should be naturalized. Qualification for citizenship should be personal. All who qualify should be naturalized, regardless of race.

Would not such a policy as this meet the appeal of Asia to the people of America, and yet do it in such a way as to safeguard all the real interests of our Pacific Coast states?

If, however, the problems of Asia arising from the white man's aggressions are to be fully met, we must do much more than has been thus far suggested.

Steps must be found for inducing the nations to return to China what has been taken from her: Hongkong, Shanghai, Port Arthur, Kiaochow, Wei-hai-wei, Kwangchow. As the decades pass, these foreign-owned ports will become increasing causes of national resentment and indignation.

If China can be given justice by the great nations of the world without being compelled to do so at the point of Chinese bayonets, the great war between the East and West will be averted. If the West forces China into aggressive militarism in order to secure safety and justice, the future of the world is indeed ominous.

Does not the United States have a splendid opportunity for leading the nations into a right attitude toward Japan and China? How can she meet her responsibility and respond to that opportunity unless she first provides for justice in her own relations with Asia?

APPENDIX IV

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PASTORS AND EDUCATORS

[The following constitutes the substance of addresses delivered before the Religious Education Association and the National Education Association in the Spring and Summer of 1914.]

The awakening of Asia starts new problems for America. The entire white race, indeed, has already been confronted with a new situation through the emergence of Japan into world-influence. The rapid changes now taking place in China are pregnant with meaning, not only for all Asia but for all mankind. The battles of Mukden and the Japan Sea announced to every capital in Christendom that a new era in the relations of the East and the West had begun.

Japan for 250 years feared the white man and his religion. To save herself from the white peril she closed her doors and carried out with vigor the policy of exclusion. When, in the middle of the last century, she suddenly found herself hopelessly belated and at the mercy of the powerful, aggressive white man, after two decades of inner turmoil and finally of revolution over the problem of how to deal with him, she made that momentous decision to learn from him; in a word, to master the sources of his power in order to maintain the independence and integrity of her land, and the perpetuity of her imperial line. For forty years she has followed this new policy, with results which are producing a new epoch in the relations of the races.

The Russo-Japanese War brought not only safety to Japan, but light to China. The magic word had been spoken and all Asia heard. The Manchu dynasty has gone. The characteristic Chinese cue has gone from large sections of the land. Chinese indifference to national disaster is giving place to patriotism. China has definitely entered on that course of national transforma-

tion which will bring her increasingly into contact with the West. Many decades, perhaps a century or two, may be needed for her to accomplish what Japan has done in the past half-century. But as surely as the dawn follows the rising of the sun will China acquire our life, become equipped with our civilization, and utilize our methods of government, of industry, of commerce, and of armament. She will become one of the great competing nations of the world. And all the world must reckon with the new world-situation created by the renaissance of Asia.

This means much for America. Are our relations to Asia to be hostile or friendly? Is the white man going to be an obstacle to her best development, forcing upon her his disastrous militarism? Is he going to yield to Asia only so much of privilege or justice as he is compelled to yield by her military might? For China will arm if she feels, as Japan has felt, that she can secure safety and justice only through military power, and in proportion as Asia arms, every white nation will fear and suspect her and develop each its own bristling armaments. Or, on the contrary, through our sense of justice and our good-will, shall America help Asia? Shall we aid her with chart and compass as she sails the storm-tossed seas on which she has now embarked? Shall we be her friend, to deal justly with her ourselves and see that justice is done her by the other nations of the world?

The attitude which the United States takes to Japan and China in this and the next few decades promises to be epochal in the history of man. And the responsibility for the attainment of the right attitude depends in no small measure on our pastors and churches, on our educators and institutions of learning. The general attitude of our people is to-day one that is based on profound ignorance. It expresses itself in disdain, scorn, misrepresentation. Asiatics are regarded as inferior in race, degraded in character, and unassimilable in nature. We allow no Asiatics to become citizens of America, whatever their personal qualifications. This refusal of rights of naturalization is made the ground of differential race legislation by several states. Such legislation, however, is regarded by Japanese as invidious and humiliating, contrary to the treaties, and in conflict with their national dignity and self-respect.

This is the crux of the so-called Japanese question. This is what caused the Japanese people so much pain and indignation at the recent anti-Asiatic legislation of California. Japan does not ask for an open door for labor immigration. She is widely

misunderstood at this point. She does ask for a square deal on the basis of manhood equality with other races. Her people are not willing to be regarded or treated as an inferior race or as intrinsically undesirable. When China awakes to the situation, she will unquestionably develop the same feelings and make the same appeals as Japan is making to-day.

It is impossible, however, for America to respond to this appeal of the Asiatic for equality of treatment, good-will, and friendship so long as the present conception of the Asiatic and his civilization prevails among us. To admit him to our citizenship is regarded by many as intolerable. We might as well admit baboons or chimpanzees, some are openly saying. Good American citizens, and even Christians who believe in sending missionaries to Asiatics in their own land, regard them with disdain and scorn, holding that they are intrinsically different from us—so different that it is impossible for them ever to enter into our life, understand our civilization, or share with us in this great American experiment in democracy. Such individuals are fond of Kipling's famous ballad:

"Oh, East is East and West is West
And never the twain shall meet,
Till earth and sky stand presently
At God's great judgment seat."

That is to say, East and West are so different that, entirely regardless of the question of inferiority or superiority, these two great sections of the human race cannot possibly mix. The effort to provide for their mingling, they hold, will inevitably end in turmoil and finally in disaster. They forget, however, that Kipling did not stop with the lines they love to quote. Though he well recognized the differences between East and West, he also saw deeper and beyond. For he added in the lines immediately following:

"But there is neither East nor West,
Border, nor breed, nor birth
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they came from the end of the earth."

The fact is that the unities underlying all branches of the human race are far deeper and more real than first appear. The differences are relatively superficial.

Now one of the outstanding duties of all who mold opinion is to study these pressing problems of international life and the new relations necessarily arising through man's recent mastery

of nature and the relative collapse of space. We need to know the facts. Our entire people should be educated on these matters. We must be led by a sane and kindly attitude toward those great civilizations of the Orient and their peoples, not by ignorance and race prejudice.

Our popular attitude toward Asiatics to-day is based on ignorance of the peoples, their history, and their attainments. It is based on a tradition that has come down from the past, a tradition, however, which better knowledge does not justify. Pastors and educators should lead in the overthrow of these race misunderstandings and prejudices which threaten to bring enormous and disastrous consequences to both the East and the West.

The popular view that Asiatics are undesirable because of their absolute non-assimilability is based on assumptions which modern biology, psychology, and sociology, as well as actual experience, show to be quite erroneous. Our pulpits and all institutions of learning should promptly set to work instructing our people on these matters, for they are of highest international importance. The rank and file of our people should no longer be misled by belated conceptions which, though long regarded as scientific, are now seen to be baseless. We are in great danger lest medieval views of race nature and race relations shall plunge us into serious yet needless difficulties.

Modern scholarship has overthrown, to a large degree, the medieval dogmas of theology, rendering thereby an inestimable service to religion. There is crying need that it render the same service to our international life by overthrowing similarly medieval dogmatism as to race nature and race relations.

The peace movements in the countries of Christendom are doing noble work. The wide education of youth in our schools and colleges on peace questions, the work of the American School Peace League, and the Intercollegiate Peace Association with its prize essays and orations, are all promoting conviction as to the folly and wickedness of war and the need of right methods and organizations for the attainment of international justice. They are good so far as they go.

But between the white race and the Asiatic they are doing relatively little. There is urgent need of active steps promoting respect and good-will among us toward the Asiatic. The suggestion of Professor Charles H. Levermore, in his annual report to the trustees of the World Peace Foundation in regard to peace text-books, should be seriously considered. He says:

"We should have a text-book presenting a sympathetic analysis of the needs, duties, and ideals of the great races, proceeding to a comparison of their mutual influence in politics, religion, and the arts, and of their various associations for common action since the French Revolution, concluding with a study of the gradual emergence of various forms of world-organization, of the peace movement, and of the financial, commercial, and industrial developments that have already provided the world-organism with a single, sensitive, nervous system."

This suggestion is splendid; but let it definitely include the Asiatic. We need a series of "Race Readers" in which the millions of children and young people in our schools and colleges shall learn of the noble characteristics and achievements of the various races. They should be taught to respect foreigners of every race, for each race has its noble ancestry and its heroes.

The systematic education of our youth in Oriental history and civilization, is, to my mind, an important item in the new Oriental policy which must shortly arise and be widely adopted, if the relations between the white man and the Asiatic are to be right and just and mutually helpful.

Indeed, for the general elimination of race prejudice, education is needed in regard to the histories of all the peoples from whom immigrants come to our shores. Anthropological readers should be prepared, devoting one or more chapters to each race and people of whom representatives live in our land, written from an appreciative standpoint and setting forth the notable deeds of each. They should be well illustrated with fine engravings of the best representatives dressed in modern European clothing, in order to avoid those caricatures which are so common in pictures of strange peoples. Such readers would help the young to get over their spontaneous feelings of race antipathy.

The splendid deeds of heroism done by Jew and Spaniard, by Italian and Hungarian, by French, German, and English, by Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu, should all be set forth with appreciation. For Japan and China and India have had their illustrious histories no less than England, Germany, and France. Should not the outstanding characters and achievements of these lands be taught to our young? George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, and many English and European heroes of progress and high ideals are known, not only by name but also for what they did, to all in Japan who have had a secondary education, and to all the higher classes in grammar-schools. How

many in our land, even college graduates, could tell anything whatever of Shotoku Taishi, Kusunoki Masashige, Nichiren, Shonen, and other great leaders in Japan? It is high time that the study of Oriental peoples and histories should be introduced into our public schools. It would help greatly to race reconciliation, even as impartial and appreciative histories of the Civil War have done much to reconcile the North and the South. And why should not suitable peace instruction be introduced into all Sunday-schools and into every religious institution dealing with young people?

The time to prepare for the much-dreaded military yellow peril is before it arises. And the way to prepare for it is to develop such a wide-spread understanding of, and respect for, the Asiatic among our people at large that we shall be able to do him justice, and assure him that there is no white peril. The only possible source of a military yellow peril is the conviction among Asiatics that they cannot secure justice or decent treatment or safety at the hands of the white man except by force.

Had Russia, Germany, and France not forced Japan to return Port Arthur to China at the close of the Chino-Japanese War, there would have been no Russo-Japanese War. The injustice then inflicted on Japan, together with the whole attitude of Europe to Asia, was the real reason why Japan was forced to develop her armaments to a degree somewhat approaching that of a Western people. If Christendom refuses to Asiatics in our midst that courtesy and justice which we accord to each other, can we condemn those great nations of Asia for resentment and indignation? And this growing feeling in Asia of a real white peril may ultimately lead to a military yellow peril.

But how is this attitude of courtesy and justice on the part of the white man to the Asiatic to be secured? It is not something that can be brought into existence by legislation. It can come only by habits of thought and feeling which are founded on knowledge and respect. This is the point of responsibility for pastors and educators. To the young of all the many races now here, we need to teach the good and noble things for which their respective ancestors are to be honored. We need to cultivate a spirit of mutual race appreciation on the part of the numberless groups that now make up our cosmopolitan people; and in this movement of mutual respect the Asiatic must be included.

I well recognize that many practical problems confront us when we seek to reduce to practise our theories as to race equality.

Would not, for instance, an open door to Asiatic immigration, as that door has been open to European immigration, involve us in intolerable difficulties? It would, without doubt. But I contend that the equal treatment of Asiatic with other races does not demand universal free immigration. The solution which I have proposed is a limited immigration for all races. But this is not the place for the presentation of this plan in detail. Those who are interested in the subject I may refer to my volume on *The American-Japanese Problem.*

The center of the plea which I here present is that all those who occupy positions in virtue of which they are able to educate our people, and especially the young, have a new responsibility placed upon them by the awakening of Asia. We live in a new world. We can no longer ignore Asia, even as Asia has discovered that she can no longer ignore us. Our pastors and our educators must lead the way in training our young people, so that our rapidly growing contact with Asia may be freed from the danger that confronts us and may become, on the contrary, a source of mutual advantage.

APPENDIX V

HAWAII'S AMERICAN-JAPANESE PROBLEM

A Description of the Conditions, A Statement of the Problems, and Suggestions for Their Solution

[The following discussion was the result of a special investigation by Dr. Gulick of the Japanese situation in the Hawaiian Islands in March, 1915, at the request of important leaders in those Islands.]

Part I

For Americans

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The following discussion is the result of a visit to the islands of Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai, covering a period of nearly two weeks (March 10-21, 1915). The plantations visited were as follows:

In Hawaii	
Hutchinson Sugar Plantation Co.,	Kau
Hawaiian Agricultural Co.,	Kau
Olaa Sugar Co.,	Olaa
Onomea Sugar Co.,	Hilo
Hilo Sugar Co.,	Hilo
Waiakea Mill Co.,	Hilo
Honomu Sugar Co.,	Hilo
In Maui	
Wailuku Sugar Co.,	Wailuku
Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co.,	Puunene
Pioneer Mill Co.,	Lahaina
Maui Agricultural Co.,	Paia
In Kauai	
Makee Sugar Co.,	Kealia
Koloa Sugar Co.,	Koloa
McBryde Sugar Co.,	Wahiawa
Kekaha Sugar Co.,	Kekaha

The principal individuals with whom conversation was held upon the Japanese problem in Hawaii were the following:

Mr. Geo. Gibb, Plantation Manager.
Mr. W. G. Ogg, Plantation Manager.
Mr. C. F. Eckart, Plantation Manager.
Mr. Wm. Pullar, Plantation Manager.
Mr. John A. Scott, Plantation Manager.
Mr. J. T. Moir, Plantation Manager.
Mr. D. Forbes, Plantation Manager.
Mr. F. F. Baldwin, Plantation Manager.
Mr. L. Weinzheimer, Plantation Manager.
Mr. Fred Meyer, Plantation Manager.
Mr. Gaylord Wilcox, Plantation Manager.
Mr. Frank A. Alexander, Plantation Manager.
Mr. Andrew Adams, Plantation Manager.
Mr. Geo. N. Wilcox, Plantation Manager.
Mr. E. Cropp.
Mr. A. G. Hime, Assistant Manager.
Mr. Harold Rice, Assistant Manager.
Mr. A. Gross, Luna.
Mr. K. J. Zetdwitz, Timekeeper.
Dr. L. L. Sexton, Government Physican.
Dr. Wm. Osmers, Government Physician.
Dr. F. L. Sawyer, Plantation Physician.
Mr. Wm. Walsh, Manager Kahului Railroad.
Prof. J. S. Jernegan, Principal High School, Hilo.
Mrs. Fraser, Principal Largest Grammar School, Honolulu.
Mr. W. O. Smith, Secretary Planters' Association.
Dr. A. H. Waterhouse, Plantation Hospital, Koloa.
Mr. G. K. Larrison, Superintendent of Hydrography.
Rev. Frank Scudder, Secretary Japanese Department, Hawaiian Board.
Rev. Doremus Scudder, Pastor Central Union Church.
Rev. A. S. Baker, M.D., Agt. Hawaiian Board, Kona, Hawaii.
Rev. R. B. Dodge, Agent Hawaiian Board, Wailuku, Maui.
Rev. Hans Isenberg, Pastor Lutheran Church, Lihue, Maui.
Rev. Orramel H. Gulick.
Mr. J. K. Farley, Tax Assessor, Koloa, Maui.
Mr. R. L. Halsey, Federal Immigration Inspector.
Judge Lyle Dickey, Kauai.
Judge C. B. Hofgaard, Kauai.
The total number of individuals conversed with was 73.

The most extensive conversation covered some two hours, although the most of them rarely exceeded an hour; many however ranged from fifteen to thirty minutes. Conversations were also held with eight Japanese priest teachers and with nine Japanese Christian pastors. A conference of an hour was held with some twenty of the leading Japanese citizens of Honolulu, the subject of discussion being "picture brides" and the intermarriage of Japanese born in Hawaii. A conference of over an hour was held with some eighteen leading American citizens of Honolulu, the subject being the probable effect upon Hawaii, should general immigration laws be passed by Congress embodying the 5 per cent. restriction proposal with the consequent abondonment of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

The total number of addresses and sermons given during the two weeks was eleven.

The one purpose of this extended trip and of these many conversations was to find out from those who have had long direct and responsible relations with Japanese, the results of their experience and thought, to get first-hand facts, to appreciate as fully as possible the problem of the Japanese in Hawaii as seen by these various individuals, chiefly Americans but also Japanese, to bring all the facts and view-points to bear upon the larger problem of the international relations of the United States and Japan, and to consider whether additional activities are needed in Hawaii for the promotion of right international relations.

In the following pages, I desire to state in the briefest possible form, (1) the pertinent facts, (2) the pending problems and (3) various suggestions.

II. FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

1. The total population of the Hawaiian Islands, December, 1914, is estimated at 227,000, of whom 89,715 were Japanese, 24,550 were pure Hawaiian, 24,450 were Caucasian, 23,299 were Portuguese, 21,631 were Chinese, 14,992 were Filipinos and 14,518 comprised all the other races, The total number of births for that year was 5,756, and of deaths 3,707 of which the Japanese furnished 3,039 births and 1,296 deaths. In 1910, when the total population amounted to 191,909, the males numbered 123,099 to 68,810 females. Japanese males numbered (1910) 54,783 to 24,891 females. The amounts of money sent to Japan through the post-office and banks amounted to $2,800,000 in 1912, $2,700,000 in 1913, and in 1914 to $2,300,000.

2. The maintenance by Japanese of the purity of their race stock is one of the remarkable facts that merits consideration.

The Report of the Registrar General for 1914 classifies by race the marriages of the year. Of 3,149 marriages 1,806 are Japanese-Japanese. One American married a Japanese bride as did also one Spaniard. One Japanese man married a Caucasian-Hawaiian, and three Japanese men married pure Hawaiians. These figures are in marked contrast to the intermarriage of the other races. Of 210 American men 112 married American brides, eleven married pure Hawaiians, twenty-five married Caucasian-Hawaiians, three married pure Chinese and four married Chinese-Hawaiian women. Out of 102 Chinese men thirty-one married pure Hawaiian and nine married Chinese-Hawaiian women, only fifty-eight marrying women of pure Chinese blood. While 1,806 Japanese women married Japanese men, only two married out of their race; out of 806 brides of pure American, British, Hawaiian, Portuguese and Spanish blood 206 married grooms of other races than their own. I have not secured adequate statistics, but considerable inquiry leads me to infer that out of the whole number of Japanese families in the territory, in the vicinity of 30,000, there must be less than one hundred that have married Hawaiians.

3. During the past seven years, due to the strict administration by the Japanese government of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," no fresh labor immigrants have come from Japan. Thousands of women, however, have been allowed to come to marry husbands already in the islands. The result is that a large majority of the men (perhaps two thirds) are married. While some abuses have doubtless attended the coming of so many "picture brides," yet the results on the whole are satisfactory.

The universal testimony of the plantation managers is to the effect that they prefer married men to bachelors, not merely or principally because the younger wives aid in plantation work, but chiefly because the men are more contented, more steady, more diligent, and more free from venereal diseases. In the employment of men and assignment of work, other things being equal, preference is usually given to men having families.

4. There is general agreement in the opinion that on most of the plantations no regular prostitution exists, and also that the Japanese are more free from venereal diseases than any other race. Some of the physicians and managers made amazingly strong statements on this point. In the city of Honolulu, however, the situation seems to be reversed, Japanese prostitutes being found in relatively large number. A recent investigation of the red-light district showed that out of 107 prostitutes, eighty-two were Japanese.

5. Examination in detail of more than a dozen "camps" showed that that name should be abandoned. They are villages rather than camps. A few plantations still use some of the old barracks. As a rule, however, they have been entirely given up. Each family has a home for itself; if the family is small, it has two rooms and a kitchen, two homes being covered by a single roof. Large families have an entire building. The houses have each its own plot of ground. In many cases these are cultivated; but the custom is still far from universal. The apparent indifference of so many Japanese families to the appearance of their homes, whether inside or without, is one of the surprises of my visit. Japanese peasants are distinctly inferior to Portuguese in this respect, though superior to Filipinos. Portuguese villages appear as a rule attractive, being well provided with trees and flowers, while Japanese villages as a rule are distinctly unattractive. There is, however, much difference between the various plantations in this respect.

6. Particular inquiry was made in regard to Japanese financial relations. I learned that while work that lasted from two years or more was given on regularly recorded contracts, contracts for shorter periods were merely verbal, covering work that would be completed in the course of a few months. The fine relations of mutual trust and good-will displayed by this arrangement were highly impressive. The adjustment also of rates of payment, so that the laborer shares with the plantation the advantages or disadvantages of large or small crops and also of high or low prices of sugar, evinced the desire of the managers to deal fairly with labor and also the confidence of labor in the honesty and fair dealing of the managers.

The fact that while Filipinos, Portuguese, Porto Ricans, and others as a rule are given only day labor, the contracts are given largely to Japanese, speaks volumes for the superior ability and fidelity of Japanese labor.

7. The financial prosperity of the Japanese was also a cause of surprise. In addition to wages, every laborer is provided free of cost with a house, all tools, fuel, water and medical treatment. As already noted, during the past few years the housing arrangements have been greatly improved at a cost to the plantations of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Statements from Japanese working men show that while the minimum earnings for a year—receiving only day wages—amounts to about $200, the total expenses of living for a single man amounts to about $125, leaving thus a clear profit of $75. A man and wife with two or three children at the minimum, earns

about $280 and spends about $250, leaving only a small balance. Where a contract is taken, the laborer still receives house, fuel, etc., free and his income and savings depend on his energy and skill. A man and his wife can earn as much as from $50 to even $80 per month. Exceptional cases run high. The highest earnings reported were those of two men who took a contract for the cultivation of a twenty-five-acre field. The work was completed in 235 days, and for that period they received $1,856.50, being $3.95 per day each.

8. The system of making advance payments on contracts, as the work is accomplished, and also of providing a yearly bonus for all laborers who remain throughout the year and work an average of twenty days per month, proves still further the desire of the managers to deal helpfully with their labor. Reports (not complete) show that during the three years of the operation of the bonus system, the total amount distributed was over half a million dollars. The amount of the bonus is made to depend on the average price of sugar and to be a definite per cent. of the total earnings of the workmen for the year.

In 1912, 15,994 workmen received $335,732, or $20.99 per man.
In 1913, 14,934 workmen received $48,716, or $3.26 per man.
In 1914, 15,985 workmen received $189,025, or $11.20 per man.

It will be seen from these figures that the amount of the bonus per individual is not very large.

9. A question constantly asked concerned the tendency of children born in the islands to go on to the plantations. In Hawaii and Maui, the invariable answer was that only a few do so; the large majority leave for Honolulu and invariably seek an easier life than that of their parents. In Kauai and Oahu however, many young people seem to be taking up work on the plantation. Plantation managers on the former islands regard with anxiety the future of the labor supply and would like to see fresh immigration from Japan and China, while those on Kauai have no such anxiety or desire.

10. I was much surprised at the number, equipment and fine locations of the Japanese schools. I judge that there must be more than one hundred, having an attendance of from 10,000 to 15,000 children. The teachers of the independent and Jodo Buddhist schools seem to be fair-minded men, with some appreciation of their problems. The priest teachers of the Shinshu (Hongwanji) Buddhist schools did not make a like impression upon me. The presence of these schools, with the temples and shrines of two or three of the most superstitious sects of Japanese Buddhism (Shingonshu and Daishi)

may well cause a patriotic American student of the situation no little anxiety.

11. Of special significance is the universal testimony of Japanese that important changes have come over their fellow countrymen in the islands. Japanese laborers who have long been looking forward to a permanent return to Japan, are generally giving up the thought. They find their life here has unfitted them for life in Japan. It has become distasteful to them, socially and physically. Large numbers are accordingly settling down in their thoughts for permanent life in these Islands.

12. Whereas until a few years ago it was not generally expected by Japanese that their children born in Hawaii would stay here permanently, this is now generally acknowledged. It has been recently discovered by many, that Japanese children educated in Hawaiian public schools understand English better than they do Japanese. On their return to Japan, they are strangers, disliked and despised. Life for them there is intolerable, socially and economically as well as climatically. The number of Japanese children in the territorial public schools, out of a total of 33,288 in 1914 was 10,329, with 1,179 more in private institutions.

13. These changes of plans are producing a wide change of attitude among Japanese as to the question of securing American citizenship. Whereas until recently few thought of it or cared for it, many are now seriously considering the disability under which they live, alienated from Japan by their life here and yet unable to acquire American citizenship. This desire for American citizenship has developed rapidly during the past two years, greatly stimulated by the addresses and advice given by Messrs. Hattori, Ebara, Soyeda and Ibuka, who in 1913 visited the United States at the time of the California anti-alien legislation.

14. Among the questions I constantly put to plantation managers and others dealing directly with Japanese was one as to their opinion of the capacity of Japanese for intelligent, high-minded and loyal citizenship. With but few exceptions, the replies were prompt and favorable. A few stated emphatically that Japanese as a whole would make better citizens than the majority of those we now have. Even those who hesitated, as a rule withdrew their objections when they came to understand the high standard of qualification that I am proposing as a condition for naturalization. The majority would be glad to see the law so adjusted as to allow Japanese to naturalize.

15. The large majority of those interviewed do not look forward with anxiety to the time when the thousands of Hawaiian-

born Japanese boys shall exercise their rights of suffrage. Several expressed the thought that there would be distinct advantage because of such a class of voters.

16. One of my questions elicited practically unanimous reply. All agreed that the enactment by Congress of a general immigration law of the nature that I have proposed, doing away as it would with the "Gentlemen's Agreement" and thus removing the restriction that now holds all Japanese aliens to Hawaii, might result in a rapid loss by the plantations of those Japanese who could get away, that is, those at least who are unmarried. For this reason some consulted would prefer that in case such legislation is enacted, provision be made for treating Hawaii as a separate unit so far as immigration laws are concerned.

17. A question asked by many concerns the number of Japanese who would qualify and become naturalized in case the laws allow it. In seeking a reply, we must bear several facts in mind. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" went into effect in 1908; at that date there were in Hawaii some 54,000 Japanese males; since then no new laborers have been admitted. Allowing for deaths and those who have returned to Japan, we shall not be far astray if we assume at present that there are in the Islands approximately 50,000 males. We must also remember that the vast majority of Japanese in the Islands are peasants with exceedingly limited education in their own language. Considering how difficult it is for us to learn Japanese we gain some idea as to the difficulty for a Japanese to learn English enough to read a newspaper. In case a law should be passed granting naturalization privileges to Japanese, a definite standard of English would be prescribed. Remembering that Japanese plantation hands constitute the vast majority of Japanese men in the islands and that their opportunity and time and capacity for study are of the lowest, I conclude that in all probability not five per cent. could possibly qualify. I venture the "guess" that in five years not more than 1,500 to 2,000 Japanese men born in Japan would have fulfilled the conditions and become American citizens.

18. Will Japanese become loyal American citizens and fight for America even against Japan, should war arise between our two countries? This question has often been put to me. My answer is as follows: Japanese are human and behave, in the main, like other people. Japanese Americans would probably be as loyal to America as, for instance, German Americans, or Irish Americans, for the practise of loyalty has been consciously developed in Japan as one of the essential virtues. In old Japan, a man who married into another clan

was required by the principles of Bushido to fight for the clan of his wife, even against the clan of his parents, in order to show his wife's clan the quality of the manhood of the clan of his birth. In Japan also, the principle of the *giri* has been highly exalted in story and drama—the principle of duty in spite of natural feeling. In the case of a Japanese American, his feelings would naturally prompt service for Japan, but his sworn allegiance would demand loyalty to America. While a few might falter, I doubt not Japanese sense of honor and duty (*giri*) together with his sworn allegiance, would prevail with the vast majority.

III. SOME PROBLEMS

In studying the American-Japanese problem in Hawaii, I have tried to look at every phase of the question. I find several distinct yet inseparably related questions. There is the problem of the plantation and the laborer; there is the problem of the citizen —the problem of assimilating a vast number of Orientals; and finally there is the problem of the Christian—the giving of the gospel to those of other faiths, and of no faith. To my mind the solution of the first and second is intimately connected with the success of the solution of the third. The difficulty of the task is due largely to the fact that a small minority is seeking to control, assimilate and Christianize a large majority. Abstractly speaking, it is impossible. Nevertheless in practise it is being done, through the public schools and through evangelistic work and through the just and kindly treatment of all the races by the government, by plantation managers, and by the rank and file of the responsible citizenship.

I. The Problem of the Plantation

The plantation as a dividend-earning enterprise is interested only in the question of maintaining an adequate and efficient labor supply. Under the political and geographical conditions that exist in Hawaii, that supply cannot be insured apart from the right treatment of labor. Fresh labor from Asia (except from the Philippines) cannot be procured now to any extent; nor can it be from the United States or Europe. The number of children growing up in the Islands, however, seems to offer an adequate supply, if only they can be induced to enter upon and continue plantation work. This will be no easy matter, for life in Honolulu and especially in the States will constantly attract young people away from plantation life. The more efficient and ambitious the young man or the young woman, the more likely are they to leave the country. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" now

holds in the Islands only those born in Japan. As the young attain maturity and independence of parents, will they take advantage of their freedom to go to the mainland?

Without further analysis of the conditions, it is evident that plantations need to bend their energies to the promotion of such conditions of life in their villages as shall serve to satisfy the aspirations of the rising generation and thus hold them in the Islands and to the plantations. This will require thought and expenditure, but from the economic standpoint it will pay and will therefore be justified.

2. The Problem of the Citizen

Within a score of years the majority of the voters in the territory of Hawaii will be of Japanese and Chinese ancestry. Will it be possible then to maintain a democratic form of government? Will this territory be Oriental or Occidental in its ruling ideas, ideals, motives, and life? According to the ordinary principles and experience in the mixture of diverse peoples and races, the majority will rule in the language, customs, morals and religion. Can it be otherwise in Hawaii? Is the territory of Hawaii to be essentially Asiatic in its spirit as well as in its blood or can it become essentially Occidental in its life of the spirit, while in blood and biological heredity it will inevitably remain Oriental? This is one aspect of the problem that interests a patriotic American citizen.

A second aspect concerns the loyalty to the American flag and ideals of its citizens of Oriental blood. How is their loyalty to be won and permanently maintained? Is Hawaii to be a seed-plot of sedition and maintained as an outpost of American territory and civilization only by the strong arm of the American army and navy? Or will all its citizens and residents, of whatever ancestry, combine to defend its sovereignty in a common loyalty against every foe?

The ideal is clear. How may it be realized in fact? How are the children of Chinese and Japanese, of Portuguese and Porto Ricans, of Caucasians and Hawaiians and Filipinos, to be welded into a common life and a common loyalty? Can the Islands be permanently prosperous and happy unless such a universal assimilation is achieved?

Is not every class, every race and every business enterprise vitally concerned in the speedy promotion of complete social and political assimilation, that is to say, Americanization of the various races in the Islands?

3. The Problem of the Christian

The Christian missionary of to-day has a larger vision of his work than was common a hundred, or even fifty years ago. He who has not kept in touch with the development of modern missions little appreciates the changes that have taken place in this respect. The individualism that was so dominant in state, university, and church two generations ago, naturally prevailed also in the missionary world. But all have now gained a better understanding of man's real nature and inner life. Without disparaging the importance of the individual, all have come to see better the significance of the physical and the social. While the missionary accordingly never ceases his efforts to reach the innermost springs of individual life, where lie the secret sources of character, he also aims to transform the physical and social environment, for these have amazing influence in the purifying and enrichment of the individual heart and mind. The modern missionary concerns himself with the uplift of the entire life of an entire community, nay, of an entire people.

That a man may be right towards his fellow men and that, in place of selfish ambition or unsympathetic indifference, he may be ruled by a spirit of loving service of loyalty and fidelity in every relation of life, he needs to come into vital union with Jesus, and through him into vital relations with God, the Father of all men.

With the growing complexity of society, and the increasing liberty of the individual from all external constraint, each becoming so largely a law unto himself, the continued existence of democracy and of wholesome society depends increasingly on the existence and influence of strong Christian men and women.

It is not axiomatic that the successful welding together of the many races now in Hawaii in such wise as to make possible the maintenance of genuine democracy, an honest suffrage, and a pure home, with progressive victory over graft, lust, venereal diseases and alcoholism absolutely depends upon the substantial Christianization of the rising generation of Asiatics? They will hold the balance of power, if not the majority vote within two decades. If, as Asiatics, they maintain their traditional conceptions of God, nature and man, of male and female, of husband and wife, of parent and child, of ruler and ruled, of the state and the individual, the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, of American homes and American liberty is impossible.

American and Asiatic civilizations rest on postulates fundamentally different and antagonistic. The two civilizations cannot be assimilated;

but this does not prevent an Asiatic under proper social conditions from giving up his inherited civilization and adopting the American. Exactly because Hawaii is the meeting place of so many diverse races is the propaganda and practise of vital Christianity the more pressing.

Some may argue that millions of Americans are not Christian, and that therefore it is not needful that Asiatics must become Christians to become American.

Such persons forget that millions of Americans who never enter the churches or formally ally themselves with the Christian life, are nevertheless the products of Christian, not of Buddhistic or Confucian civilization. They hold along with all Christians the characteristic conceptions of "home," of "woman," of "liberty," of "individual rights," of "duty," of "children."

Moreover, is it not true that the millions of Americans who acknowledge no debt or allegiance to Christianity, who "fear neither God nor man," who live exclusively for the pleasures of this life, constitute a grave menace to American democracy? Does not history show that when liberty runs to license, when men lose self-control and sobriety, then they inevitably revert to some form of despotism or oligarchy. The most ominous sign confronting the United States to-day is the large number of lawless men who, of course, are not Christian.

The making of Hawaii into a genuine section of America, a section that upholds its best ideals as to government and home and the right and duties and liberty of citizens, a land that can rule itself, depend in no small degree on the giving of Christianity to its Asiatic population and especially to the Japanese, who constitute the most virile race in the Islands.

Suggestions

In thinking over the situation confronting the Hawaiian Islands because of its large Japanese population, several suggestions have come to my mind as to concrete methods of activity calculated to solve the problems. Some of these suggestions concern especially the plantation managers; others the territorial government, and still others, the churches. I shall not, however, distribute my suggestions in this way; in fact, every one should be interested in every line of effort to promote better conditions of life among the laboring classes and the most complete Americanization of all the alien races.

1. Make Plantation Life Wholesome and Satisfactory

(a) *The Beautification of the Homes, Both Within and Without.*

For this, competent young women might be employed by the plantations, who could teach and inspire the mothers and children.

One teacher would probably suffice for several villages. She could show pictures of the best plantation homes, and thus inspire ideals and ambition. She might be supplied with flower seeds; she might offer prizes to children for best results; she might have suitable pictures for sale at wholesale rates; she might persuade families to paper the walls with cheerful wallpaper, provided by the plantation at minimum prices; she might inspire and organize village improvement clubs and persuade neighboring villages to enter into wholesome rivalry. She might be authorized to provide cement free for artificial ponds—à la Japanese—and lumber, at cost, for fences. She might suggest to tenants that permission could be secured from the plantation to put into the sitting-room a *toko-no-ma,* or "honor place," with appropriate decoration. The men and children might be stimulated to cultivate fruit trees. In these ways the house would become a home, and the camp be transformed into a true village. The instinctive longing of the human heart for attractive surroundings would thus be satisfied. These acquisitions, however, should be secured through the activity of the tenants themselves, not through that of the plantations. The teacher should be skilful in suggesting, but her words should not be directions or commands.

(b) *The Education of the Mothers*

Much improvement in the homes, however, depends upon the education of the mothers. They should be given opportunity to learn to sew, to cook, and to care for their infant children. Many improvements in the diet could be made without increased cost, if only they knew how. Mothers' classes and mothers' clubs might be highly serviceable, if only they had suitable leadership.

(c) *Utilize the Young Women*

The suitable persons for the above-mentioned service would be young women born on the plantations and educated in Hawaii, who could be induced to go to high and normal schools for the purpose of preparing for this work. They would themselves need training. They should in preparation visit many "camps" and villages, see the best and become inspired to help their fellow countrymen. Might not each plantation wisely employ one or two such persons? The plantations might even educate promising individuals on condition that they would serve a specified term of years, if needed, before marriage.

(d) *Provide Opportunity for the Intellectual, Social and Recreational Demands of the Young*

Every plantation that desires to hold permanently its young people should provide wholesome ways of meeting their intellectual,

social and recreational cravings. Baseball and archery fields should be supplied; Young Men's Christian Association classes; Chautauqua and university extension courses might be introduced under the guidance of experts. One leader or two for each island might be enough, employed by all the plantations. These would supply the demands of the ambitious young people for opportunity for self-improvement. The moving-picture business should be wisely supervised, so as to serve educational as well as recreational purposes.

(e) *Encourage Investments*

In proportion to their earnings, Japanese laborers have large sums for investment. Would it not be a valuable way of binding laborers to plantations in wholesome relations, to provide them with the best of opportunity for investment in plantation stock? This might be done in many ways, but I need not enter into details. If plantation stock is not available, might not the plantation nevertheless help the laborers to make safe and profitable investments?

2. Promote Americanization

Thousands of the boys of all races, now on plantations, will become citizen voters in the coming decade. The future of the territory will depend in no small way on the kind of citizens and voters this present generation of boys become. It is not to be assumed that the education they receive in the public schools, which they leave at fourteen or fifteen years of age, is adequate to prepare them for citizenship. During the six or seven years after they get out from under the influence of their American teachers, the most of these boys will be isolated from English-speaking Americans. They will be associated chiefly with men of their own race, imbibing, therefore, Oriental ideas, as they approach manhood. The mere fact, accordingly, of American birth, public school education, and the requisite age should not be regarded as adequate qualification for the suffrage. For it is to be remembered that during the entire period of schooling, not only have they been in Oriental homes, but the Japanese at heart have been diligently drilled in Japanese schools by Japanese teachers, many of whom have little acquaintance and no sympathy with American institutions or a Christian civilization. To meet these conditions both the plantations and also the territorial government might do much.

(*a*) The plantations might provide that among the intellectual opportunities provided for those in the villages, there should be classes in citizenship, its ideals, its duties and its privileges. These classes should be open to all. Japanese or Chinese, even

those at present ineligible for citizenship, should be encouraged to attend, that they may gain the "social mind," if not the political status, of citizens. Parents of boys who are becoming citizens should be urged to attend such classes in order to keep in sympathy with their children. All young men, even sons of American citizens, should be urged to attend such classes. These classes might be conducted for a few weeks each year—say in the month of June—so that those who finish the course may receive formal recognition as citizens on the Fourth of July.

(*b*) The plantations might provide for special celebration of Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays and the Fourth of July, arranging for suitable patriotic addresses and movies. To these all nationalities should be cordially invited. Not until the various races learn to celebrate with gusto and appreciation the distinctive American holidays, will their Americanization have gone very far. It is of the highest importance that among these diverse races there should be developed a common mind and community feeling. For this, few things are more effective than popular festivals.

(*c*) I can conceive of no more important or effective method for Americanizing our Oriental populations than by the skilful use of the moving-picture show. If the plantations should combine, they might employ an expert man, or two on each of the islands, who could visit the various plantations and villages, in turn, and in time completely transform the mind of the entire population. He should have courses of lectures and reels on American history—colonial times and early immigration; the War of Independence; the Civil War and its consequences; recent immigration. The education should also serve to acquaint the people with the principal events and meaning of European history: the Middle Ages, feudalism, the Reformation, the rise of nations in Europe, the rise of constitutional governments and democracies, the history of liberty.

But even more than this should be done. The life and teachings of Jesus and the standard stories of the Bible should be displayed in such ways as to set forth the fundamental moral and religious conceptions of Occidental civilization.

By the use of moving pictures (five cents to adults and free to children) the entire Asiatic population would be unconsciously swept into the circle of our Occidental life. Parents would move along with their children in their acquaintance with our history and ideals. The chasm between parents and children now dreaded, and to avoid which the Japanese schools exist, would be largely overcome.

The man to give these lectures should, of course, be bilingual

at least. Adults who understand little English should be addressed in their native tongues—Japanese, Filipino, Chinese.

(*d*) Might not plantations establish playgrounds for the children and employ suitable persons to supervise and organize the games? The playground movement in the United States has proven that children learn much in wholesome social life by skilful adult supervision of their games. If such supervision should be rendered by Americans, the Americanizing process and power would be not inferior to that of the public school itself, for the children during the entire afternoon would be under American instead of Asiatic influence. There would be instilled into Asiatic chilidren the characteristic American games which have so much to do with creating the "social mind" and the "social habits" of native-born Americans.

3. A Suggestion for the Territorial Government

So important is the thorough Americanization of the mixed population of the Islands that the territorial government should take every suitable step. Its public-school system is already doing splendid work along these lines. It may be doubted if its schools could do more than they are doing. But might not the government make provision for still more effective work? My suggestion is as follows:

(*a*) Let a committee be appointed by the governor, with an adequate fund, whose duty it would be to select or secure in some way, suitable text-books on: (1) The History of the American People, (2) The Ideals of Democracy, (3) The Nature and Working of the American Government, and (4) The English Language.

These books should be made the standard of attainment for *all* young men who apply for citizenship, wherever born, whether of Asiatic or Caucasian parentage.

(*b*) Let the governor be authorized to arrange for the selection of suitable persons in each school section to conduct *citizenship examinations* at suitable intervals during the year.

(*c*) Let the governor be authorized to provide for special patriotic services on the Fourth of July and on Washington's birthday for all those who may have passed the required examinations, and desire to make public their entering upon the privileges and duties of citizens. On such an occasion why might not an oath of allegiance to the Stars and Stripes be made by each new citizen?

Until the above standards of qualification for citizenship are enacted by Congress, the laws suggested above could not be enforced by the territorial government on young men who were unwilling to submit to them. But even without Congressional action,

the territorial government could take these steps, provide for the voluntary taking of examinations by the young men and develop a popular opinion that would sweep the whole population along. All young men, whether born of American citizens or of Asiatics should be expected, by popular opinion, to pass the examinations and take a formal oath of allegiance to the flag before casting their first ballot. It would be quite legitimate for the governor to provide that no one who has not passed the citizenship examinations could receive the citizenship initiation and take the oath on such special occasions. Prizes might be offered to those who pass the examinations with the highest average. Little American silk flags with the date woven into the fabric might be given to each new citizen taking up his citizen's duties on such an occasion. Banquets, banners, badges, and pins with welcome orations and responses might make the occasion highly inspiring. In these and similar ways the territorial provisions, though not in a technical sense laws, would nevertheless serve equally effectively—possibly more so.

4. The Japanese Language School

Many regard with solicitude the influence of the Japanese schools on their pupils, for it is assumed that they develop a spirit of loyalty to Japan, which, of course, is assumed to conflict with the development of loyalty to America. This raises a question of no little difficulty. The evil of the Japanese school is probably not as great as most critics assume. It is to be remembered that the assumption is based on *a priori* grounds. Practically all the Japanese to whom I spoke on the subject stated that the Japanese schools do not interfere with the development among the children of American patriotism. It is certain that Japanese leaders are definitely seeking to make their schools contribute to, rather than to hinder, the loyalty of their children to the United States. For this purpose, they are now considering the revision of their Japanese school readers, so as to make them distinctly patriotic in the American sense.

5. Aggressive Christian Work

Some may consider that Hawaii's Japanese problem, so far as it concerns the plantation managers and the citizen, will have been adequately provided for by the suggested activities of the preceding pages. Not so can he think who realizes that life on the plantation cannot be made deeply satisfying unless provision is also made for the deeper needs and higher cravings of the human heart and that an alien cannot be truly transformed into a whole-hearted American citizen unless he individually and consciously accepts the Christian

ideals of personal responsibility, of duty to God and to fellow men, and openly avows his intention to live in harmony with these ideals.

For the complete success, therefore, of the proposals to make plantation life wholesome and satisfying and to transform Asiatic aliens into American citizens, the churches must make their own contribution, a contribution that is both unique and absolutely essential. In other words Christians must put forth adequate energy to provide the plantation villages with Christian advantages. The Christian work must be done wisely, so as to win both old and young. Beyond question, the various activities already suggested, along with the public schools, will serve to Christianize the people in general ways. The remaining need will be to promote such additional and distinctively Christian activities as shall crystallize the movement and lead individuals definitely to accept the Christian ideals and ally themselves with the local churches for the promotion of the Christian life in their respective communities. A church should be established as soon as possible in every village and to it should be attached every man and woman who personally accepts the Christian ideals and desires to live in harmony with the teachings of Jesus.

Until the Christian religion displaces the superstitious Buddhist sects, they will inevitably persist, for "man is incurably religious." But so long as they persist, the moral and political life of the community in which they flourish will inevitably correspond to their ideals and teachings. Christianity must go in and preempt the ground, providing more exalted ideas of God and man, a more ennobling morality and a life more satisyfing to every sincere individual.

But the long persistence in Hawaii of superstitious Buddhism is improbable. It will doubtless die off with the present generation of Japanese who came as immigrants from Japan. Japanese children who have gone through the public-school system are emancipated both from their parents and from their priests. Unless, however, they are won to personal relations with Christian churches they will continue to support the priests and the shrines in order to have their services for the burial of their dead.

The coming decade or two is a time of rare opportunity for Christianity. Many thousand young Japanese are on the point of reaching maturity. Shall they as a rule drift off into skepticism, irreligion, and immorality, with all that that means of political danger? Shall the plantation village become centers of irreligion, with increasing unrest? Or shall the Japanese youth as a rule be won for Christ? If this rising generation of young

Japanese can be won for Christ, subsequent generations will largely take care of themselves. We are now reaching the formative period of the Hawaiian-Japanese community. What the present generation of young people becomes, will largely determine that of those who follow. Should this first generation become Christian, the villages as a whole will become Christian. Village life will be more satisfying and elevating, local politics will be more pure, democratic institutions more successful, and the Americanization of the Asiatic population will proceed apace and ere long become complete. Should this first generation not be won for Christ, will it be possible in any large or general way to win their children? What kind of village life, either moral or political, may be expected of thousands of men and women, who acknowledge neither God nor heaven nor moral law? What will be the consequences to the plantations and to the Hawaiian territory, where such people constitute an overwhelming majority?

Such are some of the considerations that make the aggressive work of the Christian church seem so imperative just now.

What then are the steps that should be taken at an early date for the Christianization of the rising generation of Japanese youth? I venture a few suggestions:

(1.) Able pastors from Japan, one or two in a year, should be secured for visits covering from three to six months. In that time each should make an unhurried tour of all the plantations, preaching several times each in all the larger villages. The cooperation of the plantation managers should be secured and every influence exerted to make the results crystallize in every village into definite decisions and the upbuilding of the local Christian organization.

(2.) Special efforts should be made to reach the youth from twelve years of age and upward. It is to be noted that such young people, educated in our public schools, understand neither English nor Japanese perfectly, though their mastery of English exceeds that of Japanese. The Japanese sermons and addresses of Japanese pastors cannot for that reason have as much effect as might be expected. This fact renders it imperative that Japanese pastors located for the regular work in the plantation villages shall be men equipped with both languages. No man can do the work needed who is familar with and speaks easily only one language, either Japanese or English. The language used by the youth on the plantations is a strange mixture of English and Japanese and will be so for a generation to come. It follows that men who are to serve effectively as pastors in villages must be Japanese who have attained free use of English, and who in addition have been in Hawaii long enough to understand and use

the Hawaiian-Japanese lingo. The present Japanese evangelists and pastors, who are not able to use English pretty freely, cannot hold their places much longer, for they cannot reach the young generation now coming on. For these, religious services should soon be held largely, and finally exclusively, in the English language.

(3.) Effort should be put forward to find promising young men and women, born and educated in Hawaii, to enter Christian service as a life-work. Such individuals should be aided in their education. Privilege of study in the States should also be given them, if they are to reach the highest efficiency.

(4.) Until the supply of Hawaiian-born and -educated Japanese in the Christian work is fairly adequate, the deficiency must be met from Japanese-born and educated Christian workers. Has not the time come when such workers must be given opportunity to become fairly proficient in English? Such proficiency, however, cannot be secured by them while in the regular work in the Islands, except perhaps those in Honolulu. They have little opportunity either to hear or to use English. It follows that those Christian workers that have approved themselves by years of faithful service, should have the opportunity of study and acquisition of English by the grant of a furlough, with means for travel to and for study in California. The individual so aided would, of course, be under obligations for further service in the Islands.

(5.) In this connection the problem of the salaries paid to Japanese Christian workers merits serious consideration. At present the average monthly stipend of a Japanese evangelist exceeds but slightly the wages paid to the cheapest plantation workman. The ordinary contractor can earn far more than any Japanese evangelist. The real question however, is not a question of comparative earnings, but of scale of life and expenses. From this standpoint, the present allowances made to pastors is wholly inadequate. Not only must they dress themselves and their families on a scale not needed by plantation workers, but their social expenses must be much heavier. Pastors, moreover, should be provided with religious papers and books and should meet periodically with coworkers for intellectual uplift and spiritual inspiration. All this demands expenditures which the present scale of salaries does not allow. The average Japanese pastor receives a salary less than that paid by the public schools to their cheapest teachers. Japanese young women who have graduated from the normal school step at once to a salary nearly twice as much

as a pastor receives, and on which he is expected to support his family creditably, and to do his work. Until a more suitable scale of salaries is provided for Japanese evangelists and Bible women, the Christian forces of Hawaii should not expect to secure an adequate body of competent workers for this highly important and difficult work.

(6.) But how shall adequate support for Christian workers on the plantations be secured? The thought naturally occurs that such pastors and Bible women should be largely if not wholly employed by the plantation for carrying out the activities suggested on pages twelve to twenty-three. By combining the various services of friendly aid, inspiration, education and recreation, the pastors and Bible women would have an access to the homes and an influence over the young and old alike, otherwise impossible. In view of the great help they would render the plantations by making life for the workers wholesome and satisfying, the plantations would be justified economically in providing adequate financial support, and by such financial support and varied and responsible work a grade of educated and properly equipped Christian workers could be secured for the villages, that would not otherwise be procurable.

(7.) A serious problem for Christian workers to face is that raised by sectarianism. It is evident that no plantation village should be afflicted by rival churches. While the present comity arrangements between some of the mission boards should not be relaxed, the question naturally arises whether the present arrangements are adequate. Might not the entire aggressive work in any one Island be entrusted to one mission board, and that in another to another? In this matter of comity, might not the plantation managers aid the churches and commissions to arrive at a reasonable and economic working policy by insisting on aiding only such missions and churches as accept and abide by the comity arrangements adopted?

CONCLUSION

Such do I conceive to be the American-Japanese problem as it exists in Hawaii, and such do I conceive to be the methods of solution. Solved in this way, by provision for the complete Americanization of all Japanese in Hawaii, these Islands will make their important contribution to the solution of the question in the mainland and thus to the promotion of permanently satisfactory relations between the United States and Japan.

Part II

For Japanese

I. INTRODUCTION

The future relations between Japan and America may be much helped or injured according as the Japanese in Hawaii take their part or fail to take it, in promoting right conditions among themselves. Before offering the suggestions that have come to me, a few explanations should be made in regard to the present situation.

In the month of March, 1915, I spent nearly two weeks visiting plantations in the Islands of Hawaii, Maui and Kauai. In that time I visited fifteen plantations and discussed the entire situation with the managers. I also discussed the Hawaiian-Japanese question with some sixty other representative Americans. I examined a number of Japanese schools, conversed with eight Japanese teacher priests and about a dozen Japanese Christian workers.

My purpose was to study the Japanese-American problem from the standpoint of an American citizen seeking to promote wholesome relations between our two countries. I was the more earnest in making this investigation because many in the United States look with grave solicitude on the presence in Hawaii of so many Japanese and Chinese.

The results of this rather careful investigation are altogether favorable. The plantation managers expressed unexpectedly high appreciation of the Japanese laborers as a class. The energy, ambition, intelligence and faithfulness of Japanese labor was uniformly recognized. The testimony was not so uniform with regard to financial matters, some Japanese having resorted to tricks and deceptions. In this respect alone were Chinese laborers represented as superior. The word of Chinamen in financial matters seems to be universally regarded as having higher value than that of any other race. There seems to be a tendency of Japanese to purchase on credit and then to escape payment. While many plantation managers would like to see opportunity for naturalization given to Japanese immigrants, a considerable number of the American gentlemen interviewed are not altogether certain that it would be advantageous.

If Japanese in Hawaii are to take their part in promoting right relations between our two countries, it is important that they should understand clearly what America is, what its ideals are, what Americans desire, and what kind of conduct on the part of Japanese will promote good feeling and thus friendly international relations. To aid

in this, I venture to give first of all a brief statement of some of the distinguishing characteristics of the American government and people.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICA

1. The United States is a federation of sovereign states. In all local matters each state is completely self-governing, neither Congress nor the President having any authority in the matter. The federal government has only such authority and sovereignty over the several states as has been specifically given to it by the Constitution of the United States. Among these is the power to make treaties with other nations and to declare war or make peace. In these matters the states have surrendered their powers to the United States.

2. In each state, the government rests upon the will and action of the people. There is no ruling class. All adult males are voters. In some states the women also are given the suffrage. Each state decides for itself such matters. Every citizen is supposed to have a responsible part in promoting the welfare of the state. For convenience of administration, certain duties are assigned to certain individuals for a specified length of time. This election of individuals for administrative offices takes place by voting. Every individual is eligible for any post of responsibility, provided he has the right age and has certain specified qualifications. In other words, the ideal of the government of the nation as a whole and also of each state is thoroughgoing democracy. In the American system of government, there is no place or provision for a class that has no vote or no responsibility. Where such conditions have grown up, as among the Negroes of the Southern states, it is contrary to the American ideal and is a source of great trouble and of increasing anxiety. Our ideal is that every adult man, sane and responsible, is also a citizen having the privilege and under obligations to share in the government, both of the state and of the nation.

3. In addition to states, there are two territories, Alaska and Hawaii, where the local government is more or less directly controlled by Congress. The governor is appointed by the President. The people of a territory are allowed certain privileges of self-government, but not all. A territory is regarded as in a stage preparatory for statehood. The United States desire that each territory shall qualify for statehood as rapidly as possible. For this, however, there must be adequate population and of a character, education and temper that it will enable it to understand and administer successfully the institutions and methods of democracy.

4. The people of the United States have come almost ex-

clusively by emigration from the nations of Europe. The earlier immigrants came largely to escape religious and political oppression and to secure freedom. Gradually economic motives prevailed and they then began to come to gain a share in the illimitable opportunities of the new continent.

5. The vast majority of the immigrants came with their wives and children and all the property they could bring. They cut entirely loose from their native lands and promptly identified themselves with the interests of the land of their adoption. This has been especially true during the past century. Their children have acquired the English language and have not been taught in the language of their parents. America as a whole has welcomed immigrants of this character.

6. Among the fundamental characteristics of American civilization by which it is sharply distinguished from that of Japan are the following:

(*a*) Every adult, responsible male, who is not a criminal, shares in the government. It is a government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

(*b*) It follows that political authority is vested in the people, not in any ruling family or class. Every one is responsible for good or for bad government.

(*c*) This does not mean, however, that there is political license—that every man can do whatever he wishes. The methods of political action are strictly determined by the constitutions of the federal government, and of the several states, and by national and state laws passed from time to time in harmony with the constitution.

(*d*) All political actions are determined by majority votes, and all the people agree to follow the expressed will of the majority.

(*e*) This character of the American government requires that all the people shall be so educated and of such a moral character as to work such a system intelligently and honorably. Each man should vote independently. Blind, unintelligent, purchased, and race voting, is contrary to the principles of our government. Such voting and such voters not only make the government ineffective, but endanger the permanence itself of the democratic form of government.

7. Further important characteristics of America are the following:

(*a*) *The Family.* One husband and one wife with their minor children constitute a family. Marriage is decided by the two individuals concerned and not by parents or go-betweens. This does not prevent the advice of parents, but parents do not have the final decision. Marriage is for life. Divorce is not only a disgrace but

a great wrong, alike to children and to society. Children of course honor parents throughout life. But parents should respect children; they do not have absolute right over them, such for instance as to compel them to do wrong. A parent may not sell a daughter into a life of prostitution, nor a husband his young wife. Concubinage is a crime. Adult children are free to establish their own independent homes.

(*b*) *Children.* While adult children should ever love and honor their parents, and in advancing years if poverty or sickness afflicts them, should care for and protect them, yet in matters of business, in political affairs or in their home, adult children are free from the obligation of obedience to parents. Each adult child should exercise his own independent judgment and live his own life of responsibility. Children, even though minors, may not do wrong at any time at the command of parents. Children who are minors are of course subject to their parents and should loyally love and obey them. Obedience to parents is one of the cardinal virtues.

(*c*) *The Status of the Sexes.* A woman is regarded as the equal of man. While each has the peculiar characteristics and duties due to sex, each is to be given equal honor and respect. In matters of moral relation the same standards of purity and chastity are demanded of men as of women. It is a serious moral crime for men as it is for women to indulge in lust.

8. *The Sabbath* is a characteristic fixture of American life. Economicaly it is a day of rest from daily toil. In this sense it is universally observed. It is also the day devoted to the upbuilding of moral and spiritual interests of the individual, the community and the nation. The more faithfully it is observed in this respect, the more wholesome is the life of the people.

9. *Business Morality.* Americans lay great stress on the moral value of a promise and of absolute truthfulness. To be true and honest is more important in the scale of virtues than to be polite. Absolute sincerity is the foundation of all virtues. It is the essential basis of noble manhood. To call a man a liar is more insulting than to call him a coward. The entire structure of American business rests on credit. But credit rests upon truthfulness in word and deed. Competition in business is a matter of course. But it must be straightforward and aboveboard. Underhanded, sly or tricky methods of gaining advantage, through deceit of any kind, are scorned. Chinese have the reputation of being the most honorable Asiatic business men with whom Americans deal.

10. *The Bible.* If any one asks the source of the moral and spiritual life of America, there is only one possible answer,—the Bible. Even the political life of America is the product of centuries of efforts to incorporate the fundamental teachings of the Bible in practical life. Those in America who ignore or belittle or despise the Bible are the ones who tend to break away from moral life and who bring disgrace on their families, ruin into society, and danger to our political institutions.

I do not for a moment contend that all Americans faithfully observe the principles and ideals mentioned above as fundamental characteristics of American civilization. There are many immoral, tricky, irreligious and truly unpatriotic Americans, who sell their votes, who are dishonest in business, who dishonor their parents, disgrace their wives and children, and ruin their homes. These, however, are in the minority. America is what it is, not by their aid, but in spite of their evil deeds. They constitute a serious menace to our future. We accordingly wish immigrants to our land who will follow our best principles and imitate our best representatives, not our worst,—immigrants who will help us to maintain and carry out to success our great experiment of true democracy in which each man counts for a full man with full responsibility.

Immigrants who do not wish to accept our best ideals, and who will not cordially help us in carrying to success a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," cannot be welcomed to our shores.

Hawaii and California are the two places in which opportunity is being given to Japanese to show whether or not they will aid or hinder true democracy. The question is to be answered by those Japanese who are now in America—for not many more can come to America, at least for the present. The answer will be made clear in the coming twenty to thirty years. If Japanese in California and Hawaii welcome real and full Americanization and make efforts themselves to realize it, the future relations of America and Japan will grow even better. If those Japanese in America and their children fail to be Americanized in the best sense of the word, the future relations of our two lands are not very bright.

III. HAWAII'S PROBLEMS

If instead of the Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in Hawaii, there were an equal number of British, Germans, Scandanavians, etc., the majority of them would already have become American citizens, and without doubt Hawaii would have been made a state. The presence of so many Asiatics creates many problems.

1. There is first of all the problem whether Orientals can understand, appreciate, and administer loyally and honestly a democratic form of government. Doubt is widely held by many students of Oriental countries. Hawaii is the first place where the experiment is being made as to whether or not it shall be a success. It behooves the Asiatics in Hawaii to make every effort to fit themselves for the experiment.

2. There is wide-spread doubt in America as to the possibility of Asiatics becoming genuinely Occidental—genuinely American, in their minds and hearts. This belief is expressed in the well-known phrase—the non-assimilability of the Japanese. It is honestly believed by most Americans that though Europeans can become loyal Americans, accepting the ideals and practises of democracy, Japanese especially are unable to do so. Japanese are always and everywhere Japanese, loyal to their emperor, for generations untold. This, they urge, is the fundamental reason why Japanese should not be admitted to the United States. By their very nature and their most admirable virtues they are unalterably Japanese and cannot therefore become loyal Americans.

3. Evidence of these assertions is presented. Japanese immigrants, it is said, do not come like those from other lands, with wives, children and property. They come rather as day laborers, to earn large money and all plan to return with it to their native land. When, after many years, they do bring their wives and plan for long residence, they still plan eventually to return. Their children, moreover, it is stated, they do not wish to become Americans, although by birth in America they have the right. Japanese alone of all the immigrants educate their children most earnestly in their national language and customs. The Japanese school, it is urged, is proof that Japanese parents do not wish their children to be fully Americanized. Moreover, although Japanese had full opportunity until 1906 to become American citizens by naturalization, practically none availed themselves of that opportunity.

4. Many Americans in Hawaii, and in the states, look with grave concern on the problem soon to arise when the thousands of Japanese boys born in Hawaii begin to apply for citizenship privileges and then to vote. What preparation have they for these duties and privileges? Are their hearts American or are they essentially Japanese? Will they be loyal to the American ideals of democracy, or will they vote in a mass and for exclusively Japanese interests? Will they regard Hawaii as truly American or rather as a colony of Japan, in fact though not yet in name? Will their parents seek to exercise over their sons when they vote, their parental

authority? Or, as in America, will parents regard their grown-up children as free to decide their own lives and votes?

5. Japanese in Hawaii will soon have a fine opportunity to prove whether or not they are really assimilable by Americans and whether or not they are capable of appreciating and administering democratic government. One fact is pretty clear, that the experiment will be greatly facilitated if the leaders and creators of Japanese public opinion in Hawaii and in Japan fully understand the nature of the opportunity that is before them and faithfully do their part in making the experiment a success. The territorial government of Hawaii, and also the entire citizenship, is doing splendidly, providing as favorable a condition for Asiatic assimilation as can be easily imagined. Whether the experiment shall proceed rapidly or slowly depends on the Japanese themselves. The more rapidly and successfully it proceeds the greater the help it will render to the establishment of permanent right relations between Japan and the United States as a whole.

IV. SUGGESTIONS

To aid Japanese in Hawaii really to understand America and enter into its life, the following suggestions are offered. I write for those who have decided to remain permanently in the United States.

1. The first and most important step of all is to master the English language. Not until a foreigner has acquired so much of English as shall enable him to read easily the daily newspaper can he follow the movement of thought and interest of Americans or be able to take an intelligent part in the life of the people.

2. As soon as possible, he who would really enter into American life, should read several histories of the American people—histories of the early days and struggles, of the War of Independence and the Civil War. Biographies also should be read of Washington, Lincoln and Franklin. Of course study should be given to the nature of the organization of the American environment and to such descriptive books as Bryce's *The American Commonwealth.* National novels should also be read, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

3. No intelligent American relies exclusively on the daily paper for his news or its interpretation. There are many important weeklies and monthlies such as the New York *Outlook,* the *Independent,* the *Review of Reviews,* the *Literary Digest,* the *World's Work.*

4. What is the duty of Japanese parents in the education of their children? That depends on what plans they have for their future. If the children are born in Hawaii, and their birth has

been duly registered, those children are entitled to become full citizens. It is important that the parents decide early what they plan for them. If the parents do not wish them to become genuine Americans, then they should send them back to Japan while still six or seven years of age, that they may get a complete Japanese education and be fitted for life in Japan. If the children remain in Hawaii till twelve or fifteen, they will find it difficult to become a Japanese and after fifteen almost impossible. They will almost inevitably be queer Japanese.

5. If, however, the child is to grow up and become an American, then it must be done in the most whole-hearted and thorough way possible. At the very best it will be a difficult matter, for although the boy or girl may go to the public school and learn English there, he is living in a Japanese home, speaking the Japanese language and receiving many Japanese ideas and customs. On the plantation, the child will have almost no opportunity for associating with Americans, receiving American ideas and adopting American customs. Playing with Japanese, Chinese or Hawaiian children, the influences received will be mixed but certainly not American.

If the child goes to a Japanese language school, morning or afternoon, his Americanization is still further retarded, for his teachers are Japanese, who are men less Americanized than himself. Their influence upon him is certain to fasten firmly on his inner life the conceptions and ideals that control social life in Japan and which are in marked contrast to those that control the best life in America. Parents therefore who expect their children to remain in America and become good American citizens will need to take great pains to give them every advantage and utilize every facility. If they are to become Americans, let them become Americans of the best sort.

(*a*) In case it seems necessary to send children to Japanese language schools, parents should see to it that the teachers there employed are themselves not only well acquainted with American ideas and customs, but are also in sympathy with American ideals, and seek to live in harmony with them. In every American-Japanese school there should be fine portraits of George Washington and President Wilson.

(*b*) Parents should seek to keep up with their children in acquiring English. They should approve rather than frown upon the adoption of good American customs. It is necessary to say that rudeness, disobedience and irreverence are not American ideals, even though all too common among certain classes of so-called American children.

(*c*) Parents should encourage their older children to attend classes giving specific instruction in American citizenship. The parents themselves might well attend such classes also, that they too may understand America, and keep step with their children in the acquisition of citizenship.

(*d*) Parents should approve the celebration of American holidays by their children and, as far as possible, share in them. On the other hand, is it wise to celebrate distinctively Japanese festivals? What interest in or enthusiasm for Tenchosetsu or Kigensetsu, or Shokonsai, can Americans have? The enthusiastic celebration of such festivals by Japanese is the cause of doubt by many Americans as to the possibility of assimilating Japanese. Do not such festivals prevent the development of a feeling of complete unity in the community?

6. For the best and most complete understanding of American conceptions, ideals, and character, and for a real acquisition of the same, nothing can be compared with a study of the Bible. Here we find embedded in simple story and easily understood teachings, all the characteristics, ideals, and conceptions that have made America to be what it is, conceptions as to God and nature, God and man, husband and wife, parent and child, truthfulness, purity, moral courage, liberty, equality and fraternity. Here we find described in charming form, for the most part intelligible even to children, the life and words of that Man of Nazareth who so lived that for two thousand years every one who has come to know him has been unable to think of God's character as other than that disclosed in Jesus. Whosoever is seriously in earnest to understand America should by all means master the Bible and become familiar with the type of manhood it has produced throughout the centuries—Luther, Calvin, the Reformers, the Pilgrims who established New England, the Abolitionists, the Prohibitionists. The political and religious ideals and organization that exist in America have been secured, established, and maintained only at great cost. Whoever would understand America must understand these. This, however, is impossible without a mastery of the Bible, and virtual acceptance of its ideas and ideals.

7. The Bible is not to be understood by one cursory reading. While one rapid reading may be highly valuable, much experience shows that its daily, slow, meditative study is of the highest value in order that its principles and motives of life may sink deep into the heart. Let him therefore who would enter completely into the American life, make it a habit to attend some Christian service regularly week by week, associate with spiritually minded Christians

and spend a few moments daily in Scripture reading and in Christian prayer.

8. And in giving to American-born Japanese children the best American life, let parents see to it that their children attend the Christian Sunday-school and church services and as they grow up, let them be encouraged to become sincere Christians.

CONCLUSION

At present, it is true, Japanese not born in America may not become American citizens by naturalization. The instinctive feelings of most Americans on this point are not without reason. To remove these feelings, Japanese in America must show that, as a matter of fact, they do respond to and approve the fundamental principles of the American commonwealth, and its ideals and practises of democracy. Even though at present, Japanese may not secure the suffrage and actually vote, yet they can train their children to become loyal Americans and to adopt its best ideals. And whether or not they themselves may cast the ballot, in every other respect it is possible for them to become Americans in spirit, ideals, and life. In proportion as the number of Japanese who actually do this increases, will the instinctive hesitancy of Americans subside and the day come when immigrants from Japan will be as welcome to America as those from other lands.

APPENDIX VI.

The following booklet, published by the Missionary Education Movement (156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, $ .25), and the Laymen's Missionary Movement, was designed as a course of study for classes of men. The Editorial Note and the Preface adequately describe the purposes of the publication. Especial attention is called to the bibliography.

For convenience and economy this book is reprinted here from the original plates.

America and the Orient

OUTLINES OF
A CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY

BY

SIDNEY L. GULICK

Secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Secretary of the American Branch of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches

Missionary in Japan under the American Board since 1887

Published jointly by
Missionary Education Movement
and
Laymen's Missionary Movement

NEW YORK
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
1916

Copyright, 1916, by
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	EDITORIAL NOTE	vii
	PREFACE	ix
I	THE PROBLEM	1
II	THE FIRST POLICY	13
III	THE SECOND POLICY	29
IV	THE THIRD POLICY	43
	CONCLUSION	75

APPENDIXES

A	STATISTICAL TABLES AND CHARTS	79
	Tables Showing How the Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal Would Have Affected Immigration for the Period 1911-1915	82
	Tables Showing How the Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal Would Have Affected Immigration from Japan, China, and Italy for each of the Five Years Indicated	84
	Growth of Immigration	85
	The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal	86
	The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from all Peoples	87
	The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from Europe	88
	Comparison of Actual and Permissible Immigration	89
	The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from Italy	90
	The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from Japan	91
	The Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal and Immigration from China	92
B	BIBLIOGRAPHY	93

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Missionary Education Movement and the Laymen's Missionary Movement earnestly invite the serious attention of the constituency of the Christian Church to the moral issues and questions of Christian principles involved in the relationships of America and the Orient. These questions cannot be solved by diplomacy alone. They can be solved only by national application of the Golden Rule to our relations with these lands.

While these Movements are concerned solely with the Christian principles involved and can assume no responsibility for specific legislative proposals, we urge, nevertheless, upon Christian citizens, the careful study of the proposals for comprehensive immigration legislation that have been worked out by Dr. Gulick, and also of any similar proposals tending to the solution of these problems in a way thoroughly honorable to the peoples concerned.

PREFACE

A moral as well as a political crisis confronts the American people in regard to the problems raised by our international relations. What is to be America's moral response to the new world situation created by the European Tragedy and the Awakening of Asia? Is America to follow in the footsteps of the old world-order, which bases international relations on selfish interests and brute force, or is America to lead in establishing a new world-order, the order of Golden Rule Constructive Internationalism? The turning point in our national life is at hand. Careful study and prompt action are urged.

When the California-Japanese tension became acute in 1913, missionaries in Japan sent a memorial to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America requesting that it "appoint a commission to study the whole question in its relation to the teachings of Jesus" and "that it seek to rally the Christian forces of the United States for the solution of this problem and for the promotion of such measures as are in accord with the highest standards of Christian statesmanship."

The writer presented this memorial to the Federal Council which led to the formation by the Council of its Commission on Relations with Japan. As representative of this Commission, as Secretary of the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration and also as Secretary of the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship throughout the Churches, he has enjoyed wide opportunity for addresses on America's Asiatic problems and policies.

While the Federal Council and the American Council of the World Alliance obviously could not commit themselves to the details of his proposals, they are nevertheless profoundly concerned with the general ethical principles involved in our international relations and for this reason they have given him their moral support as well as an extraordinary opportunity for presenting the entire problem of the relations of America to the Orient.

The discussion presented in the following pages was given in brief outline in an address before the Conference on International Relations held at Cornell University in June, 1915. A fuller statement of the argument was prepared for the proceedings of the Conference with the title "America's Asiatic Problem." That chapter of the "Proceedings" was issued as a special edition of the January (1916) number of the "International Polity News."

The title adopted for this book more accurately describes the contents and the method of the discussion than does the former title, "America's Asiatic Problem." The material has been carefully revised and the argument enlarged and strengthened at various points. Having in mind the needs of classes, the arguments have been presented in broad outlines and with the briefest possible statement.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Fred B. Foulk for the bibliography, and to the World Peace Foundation for permission to make free use of the third chapter of the "Proceedings of the Cornell Conference."

SIDNEY L. GULICK.

New York City, *May 1, 1916.*

America and the Orient

I

THE PROBLEM

1. Europe's Tragedy and America's Awakening

America has suddenly awakened to the character of the modern world situation and the frightful nature of modern warfare. Many believe that the United States is herself in danger of being attacked or drawn into the world conflict.

The vast majority of Americans honestly and earnestly desire peace. They wish peace for themselves, both now and in the future. Their desire is permanent peace for the whole world. They would fain tell Europe how to adjust her international and interracial political affairs so as to provide for permanent peace. They suggest, and even urge, the organization of the United States of Europe. They proclaim the importance of the prompt establishment of a World Supreme Court and a League of Nations to Enforce Peace, making the armies of the nations serve merely as a world police to restrain and discipline self-willed, turbulent, or aggressive nations.

A considerable section of our most prominent citizens hold danger of war to be so imminent that common prudence demands immediate enlargement of our military and naval forces. National security depends

chiefly, they insist, on military preparedness. Others are saying that permanent world peace is possible only by the establishment and maintenance of international justice, and the only hope of world justice lies in the establishment of a world court supported by international police. They accordingly devote their energies to the discussion of ways and means for securing these.

The writer, however, is amazed at the apparent apathy of all in regard to those matters with which we have immediate and unavoidable responsibility; namely, our relations with Asia. In the establishment of world peace we neglect the pressing duties immediately at hand while we concern ourselves energetically with matters relatively remote. We ignore our own wrong doings, which are producing the international irritation and tension which lead to war, while we call upon other nations and races to deal righteously with one another.

To be specific, our disregard of treaty pledges to China, our humiliating treatment of Chinese and Japanese, and our popular cultivation of anti-Asiatic suspicion, animosity and fear are producing a spirit and an attitude both in the Orient and in America that may ultimately result in conflict. The history of the rise and culmination of Europe's tragedy throws lurid light on America's attitude toward Asia and on our dealings with Asiatics. We are marching steadily forward in the path that Europe has trodden for the past fifty years, the result of which is the present conflict.

The causes of the European tragedy are now fairly clear. In brief, they are the selfish, national and racial ambitions, aggressions and oppressions, justified by the materialistic theory of evolution through the struggle for

existence and the survival of the strongest, the conviction that might and need make right, secret diplomacy, intrigue, falsified international news, cultivated suspicion, fear, animosity, and enormous expenditures for military preparedness.

Will America learn the lesson? Will we learn to deal righteously and justly with Asia and Asiatics? Will we place the giving of justice above the demanding of rights? Will we regard international and interracial righteousness and good-will as more important methods of providing for national security and permanent peace than the building of large navies and the purchase of mountains of ammunition? Will we discover that armed peace is in fact but a truce, and a truce that will inevitably be broken when the time is ripe? Will we learn that enormous and increasing armaments increase suspicion among all one's neighbors, compelling them to resort likewise to the same methods of providing for their national security?

Has not Europe's tragedy taught us that there is only one safe method for insuring national safety and permanent peace, namely, the method of ourselves dealing righteously, even generously, with our neighbors?

When we begin to seek not security at any price, nor peace at any price, but righteousness at any cost, then, and only then, shall we be fairly started on the road to permanent peace.

Americans who are earnest for the establishment of the peace of the world will see to it that we at once undertake to solve the problem of our relations with Asia in the only way that will really solve it. Those Americans who do not interest themselves in the recti-

fication of our laws and of our treatment of Asia and Asiatics must be judged as either ignorant of the seriousness of the problem, or not really earnest in the establishment of world peace.

World Militarism or Golden Rule Internationalism—these are the alternatives. Which of these paths America is to follow is the great problem now confronting her. The choice will be indicated by the way in which we decide to treat Asia and Asiatics. Shall we bring our laws into harmony with our principles, professions and pledges, or shall we increase our armaments and continue to disregard our moral obligations? Shall we base national safety primarily on the size, wealth and power of our nation and our preparedness for instant conflict, or on the cultivation of international good-will and confidence through the practise of justice, helpfulness and good-neighborliness?

These questions find their immediate and practical application in the relations of the United States to China and Japan, therefore they should be carefully studied by the rank and file of the responsible citizenship throughout our land. In their hands lies the fateful decision. Shall the United States promote World Militarism, or will it lead in the practise of Golden Rule Internationalism?

2. The Asiatic Problem

Who coined the term "Yellow Peril"? What is meant by it? What is the objection to the term? Is there any better name for the problem indicated?

I. *A Definition.* Let the student try to define the term before considering the following suggestion. After

completing the course of study let him again return to the question of an adequate definition.

The *Asiatic Problem signifies that group of questions and difficulties confronting the peoples of Europe and America due to the adoption by the nations of Asia of the material elements of occidental civilization, and their entry thereby into the life of the world.*

II. *The Elements Distinguished.* The Asiatic Problem has many elements which need to be distinguished:

1. The Economic Factor. (a) Through enormous Asiatic migration into white men's lands and by work at a low scale of wages there will be a lowering of the scale of life for Caucasian workers. "White laborers cannot compete with Asiatics."

(b) Through development, with cheap labor, of enormous manufacturing plants in Asia, and the flooding of occidental markets with all kinds of manufactured goods "made in Asia" cheaper than we can possibly produce them in the west, our manufacturers and laboring classes will be hopelessly ruined.

2. The Military Factor. (a) Through the adoption by Japan and China of occidental science and especially of military and naval machinery and methods, Asiatics are becoming our equals in warfare.

(b) By their military power Asiatics will be increasingly able to dispute the supremacy of the white races and will compel them to surrender special privileges and rights acquired and long held in Asia by military superiority.

(c) Because of her enormous population, Asia when educated, armed and united, will be able to overwhelm the white people even in their own lands. Asia's enor-

mous fecundity and reckless disregard of life will enable her to raise such enormous armies and navies as to render successful competition impossible by the nations of the West.

3. The Racial Factor. Asiatic blood, brains and civilization are inherently inferior to those of the white races. They are moreover completely unassimilable. An Asiatic is always Asiatic in ideas, ideals, motives and character, and cannot possibly become Caucasian. The intermarriage of Caucasians and Asiatics is abhorrent; the offspring are mongrels, inheriting the bad qualities of both races, the good qualities of neither. All offspring, moreover, seeing they have Asiatic blood, are essentially Asiatic. The supremacy of Asiatics through low economic standards and bare military force will mean the incursion into the white man's land of millions of Asiatics. This will inevitably not only reduce the western scale of life but will also render inevitable wide intermarriage of Asiatics and Caucasians, insuring thus the final downfall of the white man with his civilization and the complete Asiatization of the world.

The above are the factors usually urged. They deserve careful study. Are they unadulterated truth or do they contain also elements of error? If the latter, how much is true and how much false?

4. The Moral Factor. (a) How have the advanced and powerful nations of the West been treating the nations and races of Asia? Have they been solicitous for righteousness and justice? In seeking their own advantage have they also sought the advantage of

Asiatics? Have Asiatics been justified in resenting and resisting the advance of occidental peoples? Has there been in Asia anything that may be rightly called the "White Peril"? Has the sovereignty of Asiatic nations been invaded? Has advantage been taken of their weakness or inexperience? Have treaties been faithfully observed? Have European and American traders and governments practised the "Golden Rule"? Have not Asiatics been ruthlessly exploited, economically, commercially, politically? And what is to be said of the sexual immorality of white men in Asia?

In what sense, if any, have the white nations a "right" to the natural resources of Asia? In view of the countless temptations into which white men have fallen in their dealings with Asiatics are we justified in speaking of a Moral Peril involved in our Asiatic relations?

(b) What treaty-provisions has America made with China and Japan? Has America faithfully kept those treaty pledges? Have Congress and the United States Supreme Court and the Presidents of the successive administrations been faithful to their respective duties in the matter of treaty observance?

(c) Is not the most ominous "Yellow Peril" to-day, and the only one actually existing, the sensation-loving public catered to by the sensational press? International falsehoods seem to be deliberately cultivated. Consider how the economic interests of many groups of Americans are advanced by widely promulgated and generally accepted war-scare stories, such as manufacturers of guns, ammunition, steel plate armor; caterers to Army and Navy; manufacturers and contractors for all kinds of material used in the army and navy.

Consider how war-scare stories have been periodically circulated when Congress is asked to vote army and navy appropriations. Consider how eagerly people read the sensational story and how difficult it is to get a full statement of the sober facts into the daily press.

Investigate the facts of the following war-scare stories:

Japanese plans for acquisition of Magdalena Bay.

Japanese secret treaty with Mexico and sale to Mexico of arms.

Japanese occupation of Turtle Bay.

Japanese old soldiers in California armed, organized and drilling.

Japanese purchase of lots in the vicinity of Dupont Powder Works.

Japanese spies in the United States, photographing, surveying, sounding harbors, etc.

Japanese plans for the acquisition of California, Alaska, etc.

Japanese designs on Hawaii and the Philippines.

Find the German Cartoon on the "Yellow Peril" and the Japanese reply cartoon. (See Reference Literature.)

A serious problem is evidently arising between the East and the West. Whether the above named widely circulated stories are true or false, they are popularly accepted, and that acceptance is causing a serious psychological situation with considerable international tension. Tension and mutual suspicion seem to be growing both in America and in Japan. China as yet is not much feared, but this is because she has not yet developed her armaments to the degree that Japan has, nor has the Chinese nation attained national self-consciousness to any great degree. These, however, will come as surely as sunrise

follows the dawn. Asia is awaking. Napoleon described Asia as a sleeping giant. "Let her sleep," he said; "for when Asia awakes she will shake the world." Does not that depend on the spirit that rules her? And does not that spirit depend on the kind of treatment she receives from the white man?

Stated in the briefest terms, the problem is *to adjust the relations of the great nations of the East and the West in such ways that their new contact shall be mutually advantageous rather than disastrous.*

Three distinct policies may be distinguished among the proposals that are now urged by which to meet the Asiatic "menace." The respective merits and defects of these policies should be widely studied and understood, for in the final solution of the whole problem, so far as America is concerned, the rank and file of the responsible citizenship is vitally involved. In their hands lies the decision. The consequences of this decision will affect in a vital way, for weal or for wo, the whole nation and every individual in it.

REFERENCE LITERATURE ON CHAPTER I

For a general survey of important reference literature see General Bibliography at the close of the book.

For a more adequate treatment of the subject matter touched upon in this chapter the reader is referred to the following books.

Gulick, *The Fight for Peace* (1915). Chapters I-V, IX and XVIII.

Lynch, *The Last War* (1915).

Jefferson, *Christianity and War* (1915).

Ainslie, *Christ or Napoleon. Which?* (1914).

In regard to the literature suggested for each chapter and in the bibliographies at the end of the book the student should

remember that not only are books and articles listed that support the contentions of the text but the strongest of those that present opposing views and contentions are also included.

For Emperor William's cartoon "The Yellow Peril," and the Japanese response cartoon "The German Peril," cf. "The Sunset Magazine," January, 1915.

To aid in definition of the Asiatic Problem see the statements made by various writers in "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," September, 1909.

Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem.* Chapters I-IV and XI-XV.

Gulick, *The Fight for Peace.* Chapters IX, X.

An adequate investigation of the Asiatic Problem should include careful study of the treaties. Pertinent extracts of these are given in the Appendix of *The American Japanese Problem.*

For the treatment experienced by Chinese in America and for a full statement of the treaty infringements of American Chinese exclusion legislation see *Chinese Immigration.*

For a list of recent magazine articles pro and anti Japanese, evoked by California's Anti-Alien Land Legislation, see Appendix of *The American Japanese Problem,* 314.

For a sober statement of the situation of Japanese in America and the problems created thereby, from the standpoint of a Japanese educated in America, see Kawakami, *Asia at the Door.*

For a scientific statement regarding Japanese agricultural and other workers in the United States see *The Japanese Problem in the United States.* This work is a report of an investigation undertaken by its author, Prof. H. A. Millis, at the request of the Commission on Relations with Japan of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The author is Professor of Economics in the University of Kansas.

For a study of the question of Race Assimilation, see *The American Japanese Problem,* Chapters VII-IX. A briefer statement of the same position is given in *The Fight for Peace,* chapter XI.

For facts on occidental aggressions in the Far East, see the *White Peril in the Far East,* also the *The American Japanese Problem,* chapter XIII.

As to the War-Scare Stories and their refutations there is urgent need of an adequate work giving a collection of both Japanese-American and American-Japanese stories. The absurdity of most of the Japanese spy stories is manifest on their face. Why take soundings of American harbors when they are accurately recorded in easily purchasable nautical books? And why take extensive landscape photographs when they may be easily bought? As for Japanese soldiers in America armed and drilling see *The American Japanese Problem,* pp. 80 and 88. For the stories about Magdalena and Turtle Bay see the magazines of recent years. In regard to the war-scare statements that German or Japanese army authorities have carefully prepared plans for attacking this or that American port, the students should call to mind the fact that it is the business of military and naval officers of every land to draw up specific plans for repelling or attacking various imaginary foes.

II

THE FIRST POLICY

1. White Race World Supremacy

The first and most vociferously advocated policy for meeting the Asiatic Problem, commonly called by this group the "Yellow Peril," is that which emphasizes the military, economic and racial factors of the problem. It sees no alternative but white race world supremacy, through superior military might exercised promptly, or final and complete overthrow of the white race and its civilization by a completely victorious and overwhelming Asiatic invasion. "World supremacy for the white man or his downfall" is the vision of those who advocate this first policy.

The avowed purpose of this group, therefore, is to maintain the race purity and the economic and military world supremacy of the white man. They would secure these ends:

1. Through complete exclusion of all Asiatic labor, from lands now in possession of white nations and thus prevent direct economic competition.

2. Through high protective tariff they would exclude all cheap manufactured articles that in any way compete with Caucasian-made articles. Thus they would prevent indirect economic competition.

3. Through military and naval force they would retain,

and even increase, the white man's hold on Asiatic territory. This would enable the white nations to suppress at the start dangerous Asiatic military and naval plans and movements.

4. Through possession by occidentals, so far as possible, of Asiatic natural resources, mineral wealth and railroad concessions they would provide for ownership by the white races of the wealth of the world.

5. By keeping from Asiatics, so far as possible, knowledge of the latest occidental military and naval inventions they would keep them in complete military inferiority, whatever might be their numbers.

6. Through legislation forbidding intermarriage of Caucasians with Asiatics they would maintain the purity of Caucasian blood and heredity.

In general, those who advocate the above policies regard the white man as intrinsically superior to every other race and therefore as endowed with special divine right to rule the world; it is quite right for him to seize its wealth and by force to keep all other races in the position of economic, military and political inferiority. The "manifest destiny" of the other races is to serve as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." They are to live and labor for the benefit of the white race. The white man is a privileged individual. The essential superiority of the white man is proven by the color of his skin, the vigor of the defense of his rights and honor, and the character of his civilization.

2. Effects of the First Policy on the White Race

Before attempting to make a critical estimate of the policy outlined above, it will be well to consider the

effects of such a policy. What would be the effects on the white nations themselves were this to become the universally accepted policy and program of the West?

Is the following enumeration adequate and correct?

1. Race pride and race prejudice would surely increase by leaps and bounds. But does not pride precede, nay, inevitably cause, the fall of a race as that of an individual? Have we not historical examples of this principle? Babylon? Egypt? Rome? Greece?

2. Would not the utilization of other races for menial service, as inferiors, produce a psychological condition that would surely result in race deterioration and final ruin?

3. The policy of white race world-supremacy is racially selfish, materialistic, and frankly militaristic, and would inevitably lower the entire moral life of the Occident.

4. Such a policy, moreover, entirely ignores the rights of Asiatics and the imperative duty on the part of the white nations of giving them justice.

5. The fundamental principle of such a policy is that "might makes right." Would not the adoption of such a principle in dealing with other races lead directly and inevitably to its increasing application not only between white nations themselves but also between competing groups and classes in the same white nation? Would not injustice or denial of rights to Asiatics as a general and recognized policy in any country, endanger civil and political liberty and justice in that same country?[1]

6. Is not this policy of white race world-supremacy

[1] If "might makes right," then as soon as Asiatics have the might will they not have also the right to overrun Europe and America and exterminate their excessive white population?

one that is really afraid to meet the Asiatic on terms of equal opportunity? Is it not therefore a policy of implied race inferiority?

7. The chasm between capital and labor in Christendom would be increased, with all its ominous consequences. In proportion to the success of the policy, the white nations would indeed become wealthy, but that wealth would not be equally distributed. The capitalistic classes of the West would possess the wealth of Asia while the working classes would, as before, be dependent upon their own toil.

8. The evils of absentee landlordism would be multiplied, with degenerative luxury and irresponsibility for the owning and ruling class of Christendom, and the crushing poverty and misery for the toiling millions of Asia.

9. For the successful carrying out of the above policy would there not be needed for America a large increase of military and naval armaments? For such a policy can be carried out only by overpowering military force. The complete subjugation of Asia means surely the complete militarization of the Occident.

10. The complete militarization of the Occident, however, would mean the complete disappearance of democracy. The dominance of one involves the destruction of the other.

11. If European and American capitalists gain military and financial control of Asia is it not clear that they will erect enormous manufacturing establishments in Asia, where labor and raw material are cheap? What will capital care about our own labor if it can earn larger dividends by investments in Asia? Will it not exploit

Asiatic labor in Asia to the ruin of economically less efficient Caucasian labor in Europe and America?

12. Would not such a policy, moreover, prevent the wholesome evolution even of the white races themselves, economically, politically and socially no less than morally and spiritually? Would not emphasis be continually laid on the lower aspects of civilization to the permanent loss of emphasis on the higher factors?

13. In its denial of the essential unity of mankind and our common human brotherhood does not the policy run counter to the great movements of human progress? Is there any more remarkable phenomenon of modern times than the amazing rapidity with which the whole world, regardless of its races and their history and differences, is becoming unified through universal trade, financial and postal systems, common education, universal science, the adoption of common political practises and ideals, and the development even of identical moral and religious aspirations? Is not the welfare of any section of the world intimately dependent upon the welfare of every other section? Do not national "slums" endanger every neighboring nation—for example, Cuba? Mexico? Does not this policy of white race world-supremacy threaten the true welfare even of the white nations by necessitating the degradation of the remaining races?

We conclude that, though the proposed policy might easily be carried out for a period of many decades, possibly for a century or two, its ultimate consequences even to the West are sure to be morally, economically and politically disastrous. Democracy could not be permanently maintained, for militarism and democracy are incompatible.

3. Effects of the First Policy on Asiatic Peoples

The successful carrying out of the policy outlined would also have effects on the peoples of Asia which merit careful consideration. Is the following enumeration correct and adequate?

1. The complete and definite acceptance by America of Asiaphobia would surely evoke in Asia deep resentment, indignation and a policy of retaliation. Japan already feels humiliated by American treatment, and has publicly said so in her official diplomatic correspondence. The romantic friendship of Japan for America, and her absolute confidence in America's international justice and idealism, have already been seriously strained, and threaten to be completely lost, by even the slight application already practised of an anti-Asiatic policy.

2. Fifty years of contact with the West has taught Japan that she can secure her rights and even her political sovereignty, only as she is prepared to argue with the white man with bayonets and battle-ships.

3. Can we doubt that China will follow the same course of development as Japan has taken? China has definitely abandoned her ancient systems of education, government and communication, and is acquiring as rapidly as possible the practises and the instruments of occidental countries. This enormous change has been entered upon in consequence of European military aggression, and as a means whereby to oppose it ultimately and maintain independence.

4. Can we doubt the development in China, as in Japan, of deep moral indignation and resentment at the arrogance of other races in their assumption of inherent

superiority and right to own the earth and to exploit all races, keeping them in economic and political inferiority and subjection?

5. Would not the above described anti-Asiatic policy produce such a feeling of pride, of rivalry, of ambition and indignation as would ultimately render inevitable a world-war of the races in comparison with which, as many believe, the present tragedy in Europe would pale into insignificance? Certain it is that many already begin to foresee and to predict such a world catastrophe.

6. The economic effect on Asiatics of exploitation by European capitalists needs careful study. Suppose that European capitalists owned the mines, the railroads, the shipping lines and the factories of Asia. They would of course employ labor at the cheapest possible wages; laborers in China are practically unlimited. Capital would be able, through lobbies and vast bribery and intrigue, to control legislation in Asia to suit its own interests. Whence could come the moral force that would enact reform legislation, demanding a rising scale of wages, better hygienic conditions, shorter hours of work, and a one-day rest in seven for Asiatic laborers? Oriental labor employed by occidental capital, finding itself unable to secure better labor conditions, would easily resort to violence and destruction of property. Occidental capital, however, would at once resort to military invasion by which to crush labor agitation. In such a situation how could wholesome conditions for labor ever arise?

7. Such a capitalistic policy, moreover, successfully carried out for a century or two, would steadily drain off the wealth of Asia into the pockets of Europe and

America. The problems of labor and capital would be expanded to world-wide scope and in their worst forms. The degradation of Asia would be inevitable.

8. Such a policy, accordingly, though successfully carried out, would prevent the wholesome development of China, Japan and India, and make it impossible for that great section of the human race to attain its own best development and make its best contribution to the world-civilization.

9. In the final struggle for world-supremacy many are already predicting the victory of the Chinese because of their vast population, their fecundity, their patience, their economic efficiency and their dogged will. How will they treat the white race, if they win their supremacy by military might, in the face of the arrogance and injustice practised by the white races in their effort to keep the yellow and brown races in subjection?

Is it not clear that the general adoption by the white nations of a policy aiming at world-supremacy through superior military power would, even though relatively successful for a season, bring ultimate disaster to the entire world?

4. A Critical Study of the Alleged "Yellow Peril"

Effort was made in Chapter I, Section 2, to state the Asiatic Problem in the form usually urged. The popular reaction to the so-called "Yellow Peril" was stated and its elements distinguished in Section 1, Chapter II. The two succeeding sections considered the consequences that would follow from the adoption of the proposed solution, which proposal we have named the First Policy.

We pass now to a critical study of the statement of the Asiatic Problem as sketched in Chapter I. Does the following critical estimate seem to be justified?

1. The migration in the course of a few years, into any single occidental land, of millions or even of several hundred thousand Asiatic laborers would unquestionably cause serious economic competition for Caucasian laborers. Asiatic unmarried laborers would underbid, outwork and outlive Caucasian laborers, especially those having families to support. Caucasian labor would doubtless be driven from any field to which Asiatic labor could enjoy free and unresisted admittance.

2. The alleged danger, however, to occidental manufacturing classes from the importation of articles manufactured by cheap Asiatic labor is not in reality such as is commonly asserted. For it is to be remembered that the West cannot purchase goods manufactured in Asia unless Asia purchases corresponding values from us. In proportion, however, as Asiatics purchase from us will they give us work. In proportion, moreover, as they sell to us will they be able to buy from us.

3. There is nevertheless a second form of industrial competition with cheap Asiatic labor that merits serious consideration. Suppose the plans of occidental capitalists succeed for the economic and political domination of Asia. Let us assume also that the mining resources, railroad concessions, manufacturing establishments and merchant marine of China are practically owned by occidental capital. It will of course employ cheap Chinese labor at the cheapest possible rates. Occidental capital will not interest itself in raising the wages and the scale of life of its employees; for the greater the

difference between the cost of occidental and oriental labor the greater the profits of capital on Asiatic manufactures purchased in the West. The purchase, moreover, by the West of articles manufactured in the East will not be from oriental but from occidental capitalists. The West will need therefore to send to Asia in payment only the amount needed for the actual wages and raw material of the cheap Asiatic labor. The profits will all remain in the hands of occidental capitalists. It is not indeed impossible that the profits from the sales in Asia of occidentally owned Asiatic factories, mines and railroads could completely pay for the raw material and the low wages of such labor as is employed in manufacturing articles for export to the West. In that case Asia could export to the West indefinite amounts of manufactured goods without needing to purchase anything whatever from the West. The transaction would be entirely between occidentals, the purchaser and the seller both being Westerners.

Under such circumstances, the disastrous effect on occidental factories and factory laborers would be frightful. In other words, the final economic effect on both Asiatics and Caucasians of occidental economic and political domination of Asia would be highly destructive of the true welfare of both East and West. It would prevent the real economic prosperity, social, mental, and moral development of Asia's millions and make it impossible for them to purchase much from the West. But the sale in the West of articles made in Asia, without a corresponding purchase from the West by the East, would reduce occidental labor to serious economic straits, possibly even more serious than

that of Asiatic labor itself. It would keep both Asiatic and occidental labor in complete economic bondage. This condition, East and West, would inevitably produce corresponding mental and moral degeneration, and the final complete collapse of democracy in every occidental land.

4. The alleged military "Yellow Peril" is highly problematical. That Asiatics will learn to use and may actually acquire all the inventions of the West is altogether probable. That the inventive genius, however, of occidentals has suddenly vanished is an absurd assumption. How soon is the Orient going to surpass the Occident in science, in applied chemistry, in engineering, or in inventive genius? That Asia will ever be able to attack either America or Europe with overwhelming force is not easily credible. Every added decade makes it less possible. The assertion and the wide-spread fear of an Asiatic invasion are indeed useful devices for promoting the prosperity of manufacturers of army and navy material. They are, however, not to be unqualifiedly credited.

5. That Asia is likely to develop armaments for the defense of her rights and the maintenance of her sovereignty against wanton and aggressive peoples seems altogether likely. Nay, it is proper, and on the whole, is it not desirable?

6. The statement that "Asiatic blood, brains and civilization are inherently inferior to those of the white races" is one that demands careful investigation. Is the statement based on scientific evidence, or is it the dogmatic expression of race pride and race prejudice?

7. The question of assimilability of individuals of the

one race and civilization to that of an alien race and civilization demands careful study. Distinction must be made between social assimilation and assimilation through intermarriage. The two processes, and the laws that control them, are wholly distinct. The social assimilation of aggregated groups that maintain their own language, customs, ideals, and ambitions, regarding themselves as colonists or outposts of their own race, is doubtless practically impossible. Quite easy, however, is the assimilation of individuals from any people who do not segregate themselves, who learn the language and desire to become an integral element of the nation of their adoption. This is particularly true of the children of such individuals. Social assimilation can become practically complete without intermarriage.

8. The problem of the intermarriage of whites with Asiatics is undoubtedly one of great importance. Such intermarriage should be strongly discouraged. This is however a matter for scientific determination, not for a priori dogmatism. Is not a commission needed, of experts in biology, sociology and psychology, for the study of this question of the intermarriage of Asiatics and Caucasians? After adequate and scientific investigation national legislation may seem desirable.

9. The ambition of many to make the white race dominant throughout the world, controlling the economic, educational, and political life and growth of every other race through the power of superior military equipment, ignores the fact that each great race has its own peculiar gifts and contributions to make to the welfare of the world, which gifts and contributions can only be made through a process of free and happy develop-

ment. Enforced subjection to an alien race produces a mental temper and an attitude that inevitably prevent normal growth and render impossible its best life. Rightly viewed the races are complementary one to the other; none alone is complete; none can rise even to its own highest and best apart from the contribution which the rest should make to it.

10. History shows that mankind as a whole, has been passing through a process of divergent evolution, caused by the isolation of the different sections, and hence has developed the diverse races and civilizations. Each race has faced the same great human experiences, birth and death, love and hate, sorrow and joy. Each race has created its own system of thought and action whereby to make life significant and worth-while. The era of divergent evolution has apparently passed. That of interchange of all good things has come—an era of convergent evolution. The richness of the new era has been made possible through the long ages of divergent evolution, when many vast experiments have been tried out and an infinite variety of divergencies has been accumulated.

Consider how much Europe and America to-day owe to Asia; the Semites gave us the Bible, with the Prophets and Jesus; the Arabs gave us their system of numerical notation; India and China gave many an invaluable contribution to civilization. Surely race arrogance is based on ignorance.

The selfish militaristic policy for the maintenance of the world-supremacy of the white race not only ignores all this but renders impossible its wholesome development. An attitude of hostility between the East and the

West based on mutual fear, suspicion, scorn and disdain would make it impossible for the white nations to impart their own spiritual best to the peoples of Asia, and would also make it impossible for us to acquire from them their spiritual best.

Already the work of Christian missionaries in Japan and China is seriously hampered by the anti-Asiatic agitation of the Pacific Coast States. The giving to Asia of the Christian religion will be increasingly difficult in proportion as the teachings of missionaries, regarding human brotherhood and love of neighbors, is belittled by the selfish action of the nations from which the missionaries go.

REFERENCE LITERATURE ON CHAPTER II

1. White Race World Supremacy

For the statements of those who fear the "Yellow Peril" and for their plans of resistance see *The American Japanese Problem*, Chapter XII. See also Homer Lea's *The Valor of Ignorance*, and Capt. Hobson's addresses.

2. Effects of the First Policy on the White Race

The writer is not acquainted with any discussion of the subject matter of this section. Students who find pertinent literature will confer a favor by reporting it.

3. Effects of the First Policy on Asiatic Peoples

On this subject also the writer knows of no careful discussion.

The fears, suspicions and animosities developed in the Asiatics through white aggression are indicated in the quotations given in chapter XIII of *The American Japanese Problem.*

A striking article expressing resentment and assurance of ultimate vengeance is given in the "Sunset Magazine" for January, 1915, entitled "The Yellow Fist," by Ackmed Abdullah.

4. A Critical Study of the Alleged "Yellow Peril"

Literature dealing with the matters considered in this chapter has been called forth principally by the immigration of Japanese into California. For this reason the material to which the reader is referred deals predominantly with the situation in that state. It is to be regretted that many of the articles written on the Japanese problem as it exists in California are unbalanced. In general it may be assumed that sweeping generalizations are at least misleading.

It is to be noted also that many articles that take up the question of assimilability of Asiatics, or their intrinsic inferiority to whites, deal with dogmatic assertions. There is little effort to handle the matter in a scientific way.

In *The American Japanese Problem* the author has ranged over most of the problems touched on in this chapter. The question of assimilation is treated in chapters VII-IX, and of dangers of a Japanese military invasion of America in chapters XIV, XV.

The Problem of Race Equality, by Gustav Spiller, is a book that should be studied. (World Peace Foundation.)

III

THE SECOND POLICY

1. World Segregation of the White and Yellow Races

A second policy for dealing with the Asiatic Problem has recently been differentiated gradually from that described in Chapter II. It recognizes the injustice to Asiatics of the white man's wanton aggressions. It recognizes that Asiatics have full right to their own territory, natural resources, and a complete sovereignty therein. It admits that Asiatics are in many respects our equals, sometimes even our superiors, and that, therefore, the attitude of those white people who disdain the Asiatics as inferior, who would exclude them from our lands in ways that reflect on their character and attainments, is humiliating to them and reprehensible in us. Such an attitude, it is argued, shows ignorance both of them and of ourselves, and is an expression of senseless race pride and race prejudice. This second policy nevertheless holds that the admission of Asiatics into Caucasian territory is a distinct danger. The reason for that danger is not that Asiatics are inferior but only that they are profoundly different.

In general the proposal of this group is that Asiatics and Caucasians should mutually agree to keep out of each other's territory except the small number of merchants that may be needful for the transaction of business. Even their residence should be temporary. Trav-

elers and students should of course be freely admitted, but they should not be allowed to settle permanently in the alien land. The East and the West should be mutually friendly, should carry on commerce to the fullest and freest extent compatible with their respective welfares, each being judge of its own interests. The mutual exchange of all good things should be cultivated. But there should be no intermixture of populations, and absolutely no intermarriage. This policy would allow Asiatics full swing in Asia with opportunity for free self development there, even as white men demand free opportunity for development in their own lands.

But this second policy also dreads the development of Asiatic power. It recognizes the congested condition of Asiatic populations and cannot believe that they will consent to remain permanently confined to their own lands, when they come to know of the vast territories only partially occupied in other parts of the world. Hence it follows that the West must be prepared to resist Asiatic aggression, pending the day, not far distant, when the Asiatic will attempt to invade white men's lands, and demand opportunity for Asiatic migration to these lands less populous than their own and possessing more undeveloped resources. This policy accordingly advocates the rapid development of armaments for the resistance of such Asiatic demands. Unless we are prepared we shall be vanquished.

Such are the main outlines of this second policy. It needs, however, more exact statement. Its main assertions and principles may be enumerated as follows:

1. Japan is quite right in resenting occidental invasion of the Orient. She has done well in equipping herself

with the instruments of modern warfare and in checking the military aggressions of Russia.

2. Japan and China are great nations. They have had a noble history and are destined to play an important role in the future history of mankind.

3. Asiatics, however, are so different from Caucasians that their intermixture in the same territory is undesirable. This is not because they are inferior to us, but only because they are different. Their ways of thought, of life, of government, of morals and religion are so diverse from ours that they and we, like oil and water, can never mix. We might exist side by side and associate with each other in business, but we would never really understand them nor they us.

4. It is therefore important that we exclude them completely from our lands; thus alone will danger of friction and collision be avoided. All white men's lands should prevent the invasion of Asiatics, especially of Asiatic laborers.

5. It is also equally desirable that Asiatics should exclude Caucasians from their lands and prevent the intermarriage of the races. This would not in any way imply Caucasian inferiority. It would merely recognize the seriousness of the problem raised by the intermingling of races so different as those of Asia and Europe, and the importance of keeping them apart.

6. The wealth of Asia should be owned and exploited by Asiatics for the benefit of their own lands. Chinese and Japanese are fully justified in their efforts to restrain not only aggressive individuals from the West but also the aggressive invasion of occidental capital.

7. Japan and China, however, constitute a serious

danger to the West, especially to the United States. They are passing through a period of renaissance. They are rapidly acquiring the power conferred by the modern mastery of nature. As their power increases will their demands grow. When they realize how sparse is our population compared with theirs, and how vast are the undeveloped resources of the lands now possessed by the white man, they will insist on freedom for immigration hither.

8. Japan, ambitious and unscrupulous, will take advantage of our weakness. We must therefore be adequately prepared to resist her aggression.

9. Economic opportunities, moreover, for Asiatics in America should be so restricted that those now here would ere long find it to their advantage to return to their native lands.

10. Since, however, the above course would be misunderstood and resented, and since Japan intends as soon as possible to attack America, seize our territory and demand free acres for her surplus population, it is highly important that America should begin at once to prepare for this danger by increasing our fortifications in the Philippine Islands, in Hawaii, Guam, and on the Pacific Coast, and to increase largely our army and especially our navy. These military preparations would of course be solely for defense, not at all with a view to military aggression in Asia.

2. A Critical Estimate of the Second Policy

Before proceeding to a criticism of the second policy it should be noted that it coincides in many respects with the first policy. The criticisms therefore directed against

that policy apply with equal force to those elements of the second policy which it holds in common with the first policy. And many of the criticisms presented in the following paragraphs apply with equal force to policy one.

What now is to be said concerning the second policy? Are the following criticisms pertinent?

1. Being a policy of suspicion, will it not evoke suspicion? Though it professes in words to respect the Asiatic, and wish him well, does it really do so? When he feels the pressure of our race discriminatory legislation will he not resent it, and grow increasingly indignant? Will not such a policy result practically in the same national animosity and international friction as the first policy of frank selfishness in asserting the supremacy of the Caucasian race?

2. Will not such a policy inevitably lead to the increasing of armaments in Japan and China as well as in America? When they see our enormous and growing armaments, and know of our distrust of their moral character, is it likely that they will believe our assurances that *our* armaments have no aggressive aim, that they exist only for defense? Will they not feel it necessary to strain every nerve to arm adequately—"not for aggression, but for defense"?

3. And when we in our turn see their increasing armaments, will we not feel more and more convinced of their aggressive purposes, and of the pressing need for still further increasing our military and naval preparations? And will not both sides of the Pacific enter thus upon the vicious circle of being "adequately prepared" against the wanton aggression of treacherous foes?

4. And what would be the consequences to America of such a course of "adequate" military and naval preparations? Would not war-preparation taxes grow by leaps and bounds? Expenses for "preparation" would soon exceed expenditures for all other governmental enterprises. "Safety is the first necessity." Must not a nation insure its existence before it may devote attention to other matters? There would of necessity develop a large body of trained fighters in our army and navy absolutely subject to order. The spirit and mental habits of militarism would be more and more widely cultivated. Congress would be increasingly beset with lobbies of great manufacturing interests seeking government patronage.

5. The absorption of national attention in the problems of security through military and naval preparation, and the consequent withdrawal of the nation's most forceful personalities from positive productive enterprises, would interfere on the one hand with the highest economic prosperity of the country and on the other with the solution of the pressing problems of capital and labor now upon us. The enactment furthermore of suitable legislation for the attainment of social and economic justice would be long delayed and possibly permanently defeated. Those who emphasize vast accumulations of armaments, ammunition and trained fighters usually fail to see that quite as important an element as economic wealth and prosperity in national security is a people well fed and well educated, possessing a social and political order that gives justice and economic prosperity to all classes and individuals.

6. The effects on China and Japan would be even more

disastrous. In spite of their relative poverty they would be forced to expend vast sums for military and naval development. Such expenditures would inevitably prevent the wholesome development of their educational, industrial, judicial and political life. Instead of developing democracy, absolutism would be still more firmly and inevitably rooted in those lands. The pressing problems of poverty, of social and industrial justice, and of capital and labor, would be necessarily neglected, to the enormous detriment of the masses. Their wide-spread economic poverty would prevent attainment of that scale of wages and life essential to the rise of extensive international commerce, which would have an important effect on the manufacturing and industrial classes of the West.[1]

7. Advocates of the second policy, moreover, ignore two important facts. Man's recent mastery of nature and her forces has been so great that the ancient barriers of space which gave occasion for the development of the multitudinous races and peoples have practically vanished. The barriers between races and peoples to-day are in a true sense artificial, that is, man made. They consist of languages, customs and religions, prejudices, passions and animosities.

The human race, however, is essentially one, of one blood; sharing the same life, endowed with the same faculties of mind and heart and will, and undergoing the same fundamental experiences. The races, moreover, are facing each other in a new way. Their inner

[1] Let the student compare the foreign commerce of Japan, having a population of 50,000,000 with that of China, having 400,000,000. What would America's trade with China amount to if her people bought as much from us proportionately as does Japan?

life, no less than their outer, is rapidly coming into contact, and both are undergoing momentous changes. Mankind has definitely entered upon a new era, an era of interchange of the best things developed during the long centuries of isolated life, of mental, moral and spiritual approach no less than of the acquisition of a common external civilization and life. The artificial barriers are breaking down and passing away.

In spite of these facts, however, this second policy proposes to reestablish the geographical barriers by law and by military might. Does it not run counter to the real movement of history?

8. Those who advocate this second policy commonly insist on the unbridgeable chasm separating the Caucasian from the Asiatic mind. They are fond of the lines from Kipling:

> "Oh East is East and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet,
> Till earth and sky stand presently
> At God's great judgment seat."

They insist that an Oriental's mind and all its contents and operations are irrevocably fixed for him by his "blood"—his biological heredity. However long an Oriental may live in the West and however many generations of them may be born in the Occident, whoever carries oriental blood, they assert, is oriental in mind and heart and character.

In this brief discussion it is possible only to make clear the contention and to ask, "Is it justified by scientific knowledge or is it a piece of sheer dogmatism?" The writer does not hesitate to pronounce it the latter.

His own studies on this question have been embodied at some length in three chapters in his *American Japanese Problem.*

The contention of the policy here criticised is based upon superseded theories of biology, psychology and sociology. Whatever may be the unwisdom and undesirability of mingling the races in marriage, the complete psychological or educational assimilability of members of any of the virile races is incontestable. Of course the rapidity of the process depends much on favorable conditions. The time element is vital. The relative numbers of the two races involved is likewise a matter of great importance.

The primary assertion, however, of this second policy, that the Asiatic and Caucasian are intrinsically so different that they can never really understand each other and that this distinction is grounded in their respective biological heredity, is a fundamental error. They who quote Kipling at all should also quote the very next lines to those cited above:

> "But there is neither East nor West,
> Border nor breed nor birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face,
> Though they come from the ends of the earth."

9. This problem, however, of the relations of America to Asia is one that involves more than merely economic or biological considerations. Moral and religious factors also demand our study.

This second policy, while not so pronouncedly brutal as the first, is nevertheless essentially selfish. It does not propose, it is true, to humiliate the Asiatic by loudly

denouncing him as inferior, yet it proclaims a final and dogmatic judgment against him. It emphasizes the harm of his presence to us. It insists that he is incapable of appreciating or entering into our social life and political institutions. It would provide by rigid laws and regulations that no Asiatic may have opportunity to show whether or not, as a matter of fact, these dogmatic judgments are correct. Thus this policy is solely concerned with our exclusive welfare. It takes no thought for the welfare of the Asiatic. It does not ask whether or not his life among us would bring him or his people profit and advantage.

There are, however, important reasons for holding that a certain amount of immigration and emigration between Asia and America, even of labor, is highly important. These grounds are partly economic and partly moral. Such intercourse, I hold, is essential to the best and most wholesome relation of East and West. Not only would it be of advantage to Asiatics, but also in the long run to us. The argument briefly stated is this: Asiatic labor needs to learn the best ideals of occidental labor in regard to its own rights and duties, to hygienic conditions, hours of work, periodic rest of one day in seven, and a scale of wages that provides for suitable living conditions, adequate nourishment, and proper support of family and education of children. The sooner and more effectively they learn these features and rights of labor the more rapidly will the scale of life of all Asiatics approach that of Occidentals. Such a condition, however, would not only be positively beneficial to Asiatics themselves but also to Occidentals, for, on the one hand, it would diminish and finally do

away with the destructive economic competition of eastern and western labor, and on the other hand it would give the laboring classes of Asia such a rising scale of life as would promote mightily both local and international trade and with it the prosperity of the world.

But how are Asiatic laboring classes to learn these ideals and develop the spirit that will insist on their realization? Such acquisitions will not be secured from books, nor from the suggestion and teachings of capitalistic classes. If Asiatic labor is to acquire these ideas, ideals and practises, it will be chiefly as it learns them by imitation and practise from the industrial classes of the West; and this will be most surely and most quickly accomplished if as much labor migration back and forth between the East and the West as possible is allowed without bringing harm to occidental labor. Refusal to give Asiatic labor this opportunity and privilege will both retard the wholesome development of Asia's industrial millions, and delay the development of the best labor conditions of the West. Labor interests throughout the world are closely interdependent. Labor degradation in any land hinders the right development of labor in every land. As far as possible labor in backward lands should be aided to attain better ideals, better organization, better wages, and more wholesome conditions by intimate relations with labor in more advanced countries.

Selfishness is not only morally detestable, it is economically disastrous. This is equally true of individuals, of social classes, and of races. The new era upon which mankind is now entering demands manifestations of

unselfish service on a vaster scale than has ever before been witnessed.

10. Finally, the second policy practically denies the fundamental thesis of the Christian religion, that God is the Father of all men and that all men are brothers. This point every Christian man and woman in America should be asked to face. Are the Japanese and the Chinese our brothers in the Christian sense, or are they not? If they are, then how can we say to them, "No matter how well you or your children may behave, nor how much you may learn, you shall never enter our land nor share our prosperity and our blessings. We love you, but we don't like you and we can't help you; be clothed and fed, but keep away from us and our children; keep out of our sight."

Is it conceivable that Orientals will believe our words (that we love them) to which every act gives the lie? Is it conceivable that the proclamation of the Christian faith in those lands of the Orient can make any special impression, when the national attitude of Christian America so completely disregards the most fundamental postulate and assertion of that faith? And if we regard our most precious possessions to be matters of the spirit and of character, truth and righteousness, uprightness and justice, mercy and love, how can we hope to impart these treasures to those great peoples and races of the Orient if our fundamental attitude toward them is one characterized by national hypocrisy and selfishness?

If the above paragraphs have accurately diagnosed the policy of mutual race exclusion are we not justified in the judgment that this policy also is fundamentally wrong? Although it does not, like the first policy, pro-

pose to inflict wrong on the peoples of the Orient by direct military or economic invasion, does it not in reality do them great injustice in that it practically forces upon them the disastrous policy of military and naval development after the fashion of the West and deprives them in important ways of the help and uplift that we might perhaps give them?

If it were possible to carry out the principle of complete race segregation without the development of mutual suspicion, fear and ill-will, and the consequent resort to military preparation to insure safety, and without the virtual denial of the brotherhood of man, the policy might not be so disastrous. Such however does not seem to be possible. Race segregation decreed by legislation engenders ill-will, misunderstandings, resentment, indignation, suspicion, fear and ever-increasing armaments.

Whether or not a final conflict arises between America and the Orient, the disastrous consequences of the policy under consideration seem clear.

IV

THE THIRD POLICY

1. The New Internationalism

The third policy for dealing with the Asiatic problem declines even to characterize it as the "Yellow Peril," for this term introduces a subtle fallacy and antipathy at the very outset. It holds that the great races of mankind are no chance product of nature; that in the providence of Him who creates and rules all things some better goal is to be reached by all through their very diversities and the problems raised thereby, than would otherwise have been possible.

This policy holds that the precedence of certain races in intelligence, political, economic and social life and in moral and religious insight and attainments places upon them corresponding moral obligations for right and helpful treatment of nations and races less privileged, and that the further progress of the more advanced races themselves depends closely upon their observance of those obligations. Providence endows races in order that they may render service to the whole world. The giving of that service is essential to their own permanent welfare and wholesome development. Great national wealth, whether spiritual, intellectual or material, must be administered as a trust for the benefit of the world, else it will ruin its possessors.

This third policy holds, moreover, that the real solution of man's problems, those of the individual, of classes and of races, is ethical. The world is an indivisible unit, between whose various continents, nations and races no hard and fast impassable barriers can be permanently raised.

Selfish racial ambition, it holds, produces international difficulties. True and wholesome conditions can be established in the relations of nations and races, as in those of individuals, only on the principles of the world's great Teacher.

In this world in which selfishness, wrong and injustice between nations and races have already had so much sway, producing enmity, fear, suspicion, indignation and ill-will, the only possible method of recovery is the practise by nations as well as by individuals of the moral principles taught by Jesus; those namely of service and of sacrifice. We can overcome the enmity and suspicion of those whom we have already injured, by loving them and doing them good. This will not only overcome their ill-will toward us but evoke their gratitude and confidence. This method in the treatment of Asiatics by Caucasians, and this alone, will completely solve the so-called "Yellow Peril" because it will completely and manifestly banish the "White Peril."

No country, moreover, is so happily circumstanced to inaugurate this policy of unselfish internationalism as America. Here as in no other land every citizen may help determine international policy. Accordingly every citizen has responsibility in this matter. He should familiarize himself with international problems and decide on the right international policies.

The proposals, however, of those who emphasize the moral element in the problem of the relations of the Occident and the Orient may be most clearly set forth in a series of statements regarding, first, the fundamental principles, secondly their concrete embodiment in legislation and administration.

Fundamental Principles

1. The real test and proof of racial superiority lies not in the realm of military power but in that of moral and spiritual life.

2. The truly great race, as the truly great man, seeks to give justice rather than to get rights. This policy advocates not peace at any price but righteousness at any cost.

3. The dominance of Asia by the West, whether military, political or economic, is not the true goal for occidental effort. The proposal moreover that the East and the West shall lead their lives in as complete mutual isolation as possible, each living as far as possible for itself, is also fundamentally wrong. Asia's need is America's opportunity for invaluable service. To see the need and pass by unheeding and unresponsive is not only cruel to Asia but morally disastrous to America.

4. The nations of the West should seek to give to the Orient their own best attainments in science, in political organization, in social order, in jurisprudence, in economic and industrial organization and activity, and above all, in moral and spiritual life. The uplift of the life of Asia as a whole is of the highest importance, not only for Asia herself, but also for the real welfare of the Occident.

5. The establishment of social justice between nations is as important as is its establishment between the various classes of a single nation.

6. The dominance of one race over others through the use of brute force is harmful to the victors no less than to the victims.

7. Race predominance through force or fraud among peoples is as obnoxious, reprehensible and really disastrous as is the domination of one class over other classes within a single nation. Oligarchy, Plutocracy, Aristocracy and Mob-ocracy have been repeatedly tested and found wanting. So also has Race-ocracy!

8. The treatment to be accorded to individual Chinese and Japanese in America should be free from personal injustice or race humiliation. The individual Chinese and Japanese should be judged and dealt with on the basis of individual character, not on the basis of an hypothetical race character.

9. Right relations with China and Japan to-day demand of us a more careful regard for our treaty pledges and obligations than we have been wont to give.

10. The guiding principle in American Oriental policies should be helpful service. Our diplomacy should place as its foremost aim, not the commercial or political advantages of America regardless of the real interests of the peoples of the Orient, but rather mutual profit and advantage. No advantage should be sought for ourselves that brings loss to them.

The Concrete Program

The constructive policy now needed in establishing right relations with the Orient falls into two principal

parts: first, that dealing with Asiatics who come to our shores, second, that dealing with the nations themselves across the Pacific. The first requires of us social and legislative adjustment, both local and national. The second depends on high-minded diplomacy, on honest commerce, on generous philanthropy, and on wise and broad-minded missionary activity. The detailed discussion of these two aspects of our required New Internationalism is presented in the following sections.

The brevity of this discussion should not be understood to indicate a feeling on the part of the writer that the needed social adjustments in America, or diplomatic, commercial, philanthropic or missionary activity in the Orient are of slight importance or easily secured. His conviction is just the contrary. American diplomacy and enterprises of many kinds in the Far East have conferred many blessings upon those lands. The field, however, is too vast for adequate treatment in anything less than a large volume. In the opinion of the writer the so-called "White Peril" in the Orient, so far as America is concerned, has been negligible, while American diplomacy, trade, philanthropy, education and Christian activity have conferred upon both Japan and China advantages that may not easily be estimated. The awakening life of Japan and China is due in no small part to the contributions made by Americans to the higher life of these peoples. Not a little of the best that the West possesses has already been successfully imparted to important sections of the East.

Nevertheless much more remains to be done. Just at present it seems as though the cultivation of friendship between America and Asia depends in no small

degree upon right legislative adjustment in America and right diplomatic relations and actions across the Pacific.

2. The New Immigration Policy

In examining the problem of Chinese and Japanese immigration to America one is impressed with the similarity of the difficulties experienced and the objections raised on the Pacific Coast with those that have been experienced and raised on the Atlantic Coast in connection with immigrants from Europe.

Moreover the recent immigration of such vast numbers from south and east Europe has made it clear to most students of the question that the time has come for the limitation and regulation of European immigration.

One of the greatest problems before the American people is that of the just and efficient treatment of the incoming tide of alien peoples, European not less than Asiatic. Our immigration laws are unsystematic, inadequate and discriminatory; our provisions for the proper treatment, distribution and education of aliens already admitted are seriously defective or entirely wanting. We find ourselves increasingly embarrassed both internally and internationally. Has not the time come for comprehensive legislation dealing with the entire immigration question? We need laws dealing comprehensively with all races on a basis of absolute equality. This, and this alone, will free them from invidious and humiliating features. *Chinese and Japanese are not asking for free immigration to America but only for freedom from individual and racial humiliation.* This statement cannot be made too often nor too emphatically.

On the other hand, the admission of individuals from any nation and race should be limited in such ways as to protect the laboring classes in America from economic disaster. American laborers have rights no less than those in Asia and Europe. *The number of immigrants who may be allowed to come from any land should depend on their ability to enter our economic life without harm to the laborers and the people now here.*

The number, moreover, to be admitted annually from any particular country or race should depend in some close way on their proven adaptability to our life. We cannot afford to admit large numbers from any land who do not propose to settle down, and become fully identified with our institutions and methods of life. We cannot allow groups to be formed in our midst who regard themselves as colonists, representatives of their homeland, in our midst but not of us; not learning our language nor adopting our ideals.

We can admit to permanent residence here only those who desire to acquire citizenship and help us to make genuinely successful our great experiment in democracy.

The question as to whether or not any particular people or race is assimilable should be based upon experience. Each group should be considered separately and the numbers to be admitted annually from any particular people should depend upon the number of those from that people who have already become so familiar with our language, customs and institutions, and so loyal to them as to have surrendered allegiance to their native land and become regular American citizens. This method of limiting immigration throws upon those already admitted the responsibility of proving to America

whether or not others, and of deciding how many, from their land may be given the same privilege.

An essential part of the plan is of course that the administration of the laws proposed in the following pages shall be put in the hands of those who approve the general principles and the policy, and who seek to administer the laws in the spirit of fairness and good-will. The principles of civil service should from the start be applied to the selection and retention of efficient administrative officials.

In a word, we now need a comprehensive immigration policy meeting the problems raised by both Asiatic and European immigration. It should recognize the just demands of the Pacific Coast states for protection from swamping Asiatic immigration. It should be free from race discrimination and give equal courtesy of treatment to all. It should protect the democratic life and institutions of America; it should give opportunity to all in proportion to their capacity to utilize it to their own as well as to our advantage. The needed legislative policy and program should deal with the entire immigration question in such a way as to conserve American institutions, protect American labor from dangerous economic competition from every land, and promote intelligent and enduring friendliness and good-will between America and all the nations, east and west.

The writer has sought to embody the above general principles in suggestions for concrete legislation. He has stated these suggestions in various articles and pamphlets. The following presentation is probably the most complete.

1. *The Control of Immigration.* Immigration from

every land should be controlled, and, if excessive, it should be restricted. The principle of restriction should be applied equally to every land, and thus avoid differential race treatment.

2. *Americanization the Principle of Control.* The proven capacity for genuine Americanization on the part of those already here from any land should be the measure for the further immigration of that people. Newcomers make their first contact with America through those who speak their own language. The Americanization, therefore, of newcomers from any land depends largely on the influence of those already here from that land. The number of newcomers annually admissible from any land, therefore, should be closely dependent on the number of those from that land who, having been here five years or more, have actually become American citizens. These know the language, customs and ideals of both peoples, ours and theirs.

America should admit as immigrants only so many aliens from any land as she can Americanize.

3. *The Proposed Restriction Law.* Let, therefore, an immigration law be passed which provides that the maximum permissible annual immigration from any people shall be a definite per centage (say five) of those from that people who have already become naturalized citizens, together with their American-born children. The grandchildren as a rule do not know their ancestral language, and therefore do not aid particularly in the Americanization of newcomers.

The permissible annual immigration from the respective peoples, as calculated from the census of 1910, is given in the tables of the Appendix. They show that

in general there would be no restriction on immigration from North Europe. The reverse, however, would be the case for the countries of South Europe. The permissible immigration from China and Japan would be less than that which has been coming in recent years. (See the charts and tables III and IV of the Appendix.)

Provision should be also made for the protection of all newcomers from ruthless exploitation and for their distribution, employment and rapid Americanization. To aid in the accomplishment of these ends, the Federal Government should establish—

4. *A Bureau of Registration.* All aliens should register annually until they become American citizens, and should pay an annual registration fee of, say ten dollars. We need to know who the aliens are, where they live, and they need to know that we know these facts about them. A system of registration could be worked out in connection with a National Employment Bureau, as suggested by the late Prof. C. R. Henderson, that would not involve police surveillance. This Bureau should be regarded as a method for friendly aid, not of hostile and suspicious control.

5. *A Bureau for the Education of Aliens.* This Bureau should set standards, prepare text-books, promote the establishment of night schools by states, cities and towns —which might receive federal subsidies—and hold examinations. The education and the examinations should be free. Provision should be made for the reduction of the registration fee by, say one dollar for every examination passed. The education should be simple and practical, avoiding merely academic proficiency. Let there be six examinations, three in Eng-

lish and one each in the History of the American People, in the Methods of our Government, local, state and federal, and in the Ideals of Democracy. When all the examinations have been passed there would still remain the annual registration fee of four dollars so long as the individual chooses to remain an alien.

6. *New Regulations for the Bureau of Naturalization.* Citizenship should be granted only to those who have passed the required examinations provided by the Bureau of Alien Education and have maintained good behavior during the five years of probationary residence. The naturalization ceremony might well take the form of a dignified welcome service, say, on a single day in the year—the Fourth of July—with appropriate welcome orations, banners, badges and banquets.

7. *Citizenship for all Who Qualify, Regardless of Race.* Eligibility to naturalization should be based upon personal qualifications of intelligence, knowledge and character. The mere fact of race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification.

Such are the main outlines of the proposed Comprehensive and Constructive Program here offered for the solution of the entire immigration problem, Asiatic as well as European.

8. *A Few Additional Details.* (a) No change should be made in the schedule for maximum immigration between the census periods. With each new census a new schedule should be prepared, but it should not go into operation automatically. Congress should reconsider the whole matter once in ten years upon receiving the figures based upon the new census, and decide either to adopt the new schedule, or some new percentage rate. Pos-

sibly it might be better to continue the same schedule for another decade.

(b) Provision should be made for certain excepted classes. Government officials, travelers and students would, of course, be admitted outside of the fixed schedule figures. Aliens who have already resided in America and taken out their first papers, or who have passed all the required examinations, should also doubtless be admitted freely, regardless of the schedule. Women and children under fourteen years of age should also be included among the excepted classes. By providing for such exceptions the drastic features of the proposed plan would be largely, perhaps wholly, relieved.

(c) Should the restriction required by the five per. cent. plan be regarded as excessively severe the percentage rate could be advanced. In any case it seems desirable that the five per cent. restriction should be applied only to males fourteen years of age and over.

(d) In order to provide for countries from which few have become American citizens a minimum permissible annual immigration of, say 1,000 might be allowed, regardless of the percentage rate.

(e) Registration, with payment of the fee, might well be required only of male aliens twenty-one years of age and over. Since, however, it is highly desirable that immigrant women also should learn the English language, provision might be made that all alien women should register without payment of the fee and be given the privileges of education and of taking the examinations free of cost. This privilege might extend over a period of five years. After passing the examinations there should be no further requirement for registration.

If, however, after five years the examinations have not been passed, then they should be required to pay a registration tax of six dollars annually, a reduction of one dollar being allowed for every examination passed.

(f) In order to meet special cases and exigencies, such as religious or political persecutions, war, famine or flood, provision might well be made to give special power to the Commissioner of Immigration, in consultation with the Commissioner of Labor and one or two other specified high officials, to order exceptional treatment.

(g) The proposed policy, if enacted into law, would put into the hands of Congress a flexible instrument for the continuous and exact regulation of immigration, adapting it from time to time to the economic conditions of the country.

(h) How the war is to influence future immigration is uncertain; some anticipate an enormous increase, while others expect a decrease. Is it not important for Congress to take complete and exact control of the situation while the present lull is on, and be able to determine what the maximum immigration shall be before we find ourselves overwhelmed with its magnitude? If the post bellum immigration should prove to be small a law limiting it to figures proposed by this plan would do no harm. If it should prove to be enormous we would be prepared to deal with it.

(i) An objection to the proposed plan is raised by some. It is urged that tens of thousands would suffer the hardship of deportation because of arrival after the maximum limit has been reached. Such a situation, however, could easily be avoided by a little care in the matter of administration. Provision could be made, for

instance, that each of the transportation lines bringing immigrants from any particular land should agree with the immigration office upon the maximum number of immigrants that it may bring to America during the year, the sum total of these agreements being equal to the maximum permissible immigration from that particular land. There would then be no danger of deportation because of excessive immigration. The steamship lines, moreover, would see to it that their immigration accommodation would be continuously occupied throughout the year, avoiding thus a rush during the first two or three months of the year.

(j) A second objection is raised by some; namely, the difficulty of selecting the favored few in those countries where the restriction would be severe. This difficulty, however, would be completely obviated by the steamship companies themselves. Immigrants would secure passage in the order of their purchase of tickets; first come, first served.

(k) In order to alleviate hardship as far as possible, might not immigration inspection offices be established in the principal ports of departure, and provision be made that all immigration from specified regions should receive inspection at those offices alone, such inspection to be final?

Would not the above proposals for a Comprehensive and Constructive Immigration Policy coordinate, systematize and rationalize our entire procedure in dealing with immigration, and solve in a fundamental way its most perplexing difficulties? Such a policy would protect American labor from danger of sudden and excessive

immigration from any land. It would promote the wholesome and rapid assimilation of all newcomers. It would regulate the rate of the coming of immigrants from any land by the proven capacity for Americanization of those from that land already here. It would keep the newcomers always in the minority. It would be free from every trace of differential race treatment. Our relations with Japan and China would thus be right. Such a policy, therefore, giving to every people the "most favored nation" treatment, would maintain and deepen our international friendship on every side.

Criticism of this plan is invited. If the student finds himself in harmony with this proposal a letter of endorsement would be appreciated.

3. The New Diplomacy

China and Japan have been placed in a serious economic and political predicament by the aggressive and militaristic nations of Christendom.

Like the traveler from Jerusalem to Jericho, they have been beaten and robbed. Should we not, like good Samaritans, take steps to heal the wounds already inflicted upon them, to protect them from further predatory aggression, and, so far as in us lies, to aid them—especially China—in getting a wholesome and safe start on the arduous road on which they have started?

What then is the duty of America at this time in its relations to Asia? What responsibilities have we, if any? What may we do to put and keep ourselves right with the Orient? How may we render them helpful service?

Both China and Japan are facing mighty problems.

The early solution of those problems concerns, not themselves alone, but all the world. Our fate is in truth involved in theirs. The urgency accordingly of their appeal should command our earnest and sympathetic attention and secure our action. Our own national welfare through the long future, no less than our national character, is intimately involved in our response to that appeal.

A brief glimpse at the history of our treatment of China and Japan and of their friendship for us will throw important light on our duty, upon the character of the New Diplomacy that not only our statesmen, but the entire nation, should adopt. China's appeal for justice and friendly treatment was made decades ago, but has been largely ignored by the statesmen and Christians of America. Japan's appeal is more recent. Will America heed it any better?

American Treatment of China. The story of our dealings with China is as a whole one of which we need not be ashamed. We have not shared in the aggressive designs of European peoples. We have not seized her territory, bombarded her ports, exacted indemnities or pillaged her capitals as have other nations. On the contrary, we have helped preserve her from "partition" at a grave crisis in her relations with western nations. We are returning a considerable part of the Boxer indemnity that came to us. By 1940 the sum returned will amount to $39,000,000. We have stood for the "open door" and a "square deal." Our consular courts have been models of probity and justice. The work of our missionaries in hospitals, in education, in famine and flood relief has been highly appreciated,

In consequence of such factors the Chinese as a nation hold to-day a highly gratifying attitude of friendship toward us. So conspicuous has this friendship and preferential treatment become since the establishment of the Republic that other nations have begun to note it. In the reforms taking place in China, especially in her educational system, in her political and social reorganization, and in her moral and religious awakening, the influence of Americans is far beyond that exercised by any other people.

When we turn, however, to the story of what many Chinese have suffered here our cheeks tingle with shame. The story would be incredible were it not overwhelmingly verified by ample documentary evidence. Treaties have pledged rights, immunities and protection. They have, nevertheless, been disregarded and even knowingly evaded; and this not only by private individuals, but by legislators and administrative officials. Scores of Chinese have been murdered, hundreds wounded and thousands robbed by anti-Asiatic mobs, with no protection for the victims or punishment for the culprits. State legislatures, and even Congress, have enacted laws in contravention of treaty provisions. Men appointed to federal executive offices have at times administered those laws and regulations in highly offensive methods.

If the faithful observance of treaties between the nations of Europe constitutes the very foundation of civilization, as we are now vehemently told—and this is said to be the real reason why Great Britain is in the war—is not the faithful observance of treaties with Asiatics the foundation of right relations with them?

Now when China becomes equipped with a daily press

and adequate world news, when her national organization becomes better unified, more efficient and better equipped, when her self-consciousness is more perfectly developed, and when she learns that Chinese entering America have often suffered ignominious treatment, that Chinese here are lawfully deprived of rights guaranteed by long standing treaties, and that privileges granted as a matter of course to individuals of other nations are refused to Chinese on exclusively racial grounds, is it not as certain as the rising of the sun that Chinese friendship for America will wane and serious possibilities develop?

American Treatment of Japan. For half a century that treatment was above reproach, and, being in marked contrast to that of other lands, called forth a gratitude toward, a friendship for, and a confidence in America that Americans cannot easily realize. I must not do more than refer to our helpful diplomacy throughout the entire period, our return of the Shimonoseki Indemnity ($785,000), the educational and philanthropic work of American missionaries, and our welcome in America for Japanese students, giving them every facility, not only in our schools and colleges, but in our factories and industries.

The mutual attitude, however, of the two countries has begun to change. Tension, more or less, exists between us to-day. Papers in both countries frequently assert in startling headlines that war is certain. Multitudes in both lands accept these statements without question, and are developing mutual suspicion, distrust, and animosity. False stories are widely circulating in each land, about the other, which are readily believed.

European Aggressions in China. We should also note briefly some details concerning China's experiences at the hands of Europe.

In the nineties the "powers" of Europe, having completed their "division of Africa," began to look with greedy eyes on China. In 1895 Germany, Russia and France compelled Japan to return Port Arthur to China in order to maintain, as they stated in their deceitful diplomacy, the integrity of China and provide for the permanent peace of the Far East. Then in 1897-1898, Germany took Kiaowchow for the killing of two German missionaries. Russia took Wei-hai-wei and France, Kwanchow. In each case the impotent Manchu Government made treaties with the aggressive "friendly powers," giving them increasing concessions and privileges. The people got anxious. The occidental aggressions led (1900) to the Boxer Uprising. China's common people sought to turn the white man out and keep "China for the Chinese." But it was too late. Six "civilized" armies marched up to Peking to teach China a lesson regarding the sacredness of treaties and the white man's "rights," saddled upon China an indemnity of $682,000,000, far exceeding the actual costs. Poor China!

Then, according to mutual agreement, all the allies except Russia withdrew their troops. The latter, ignoring her promise, not only left her soldiers in Manchuria but began to send in thousands more. Japan got anxious. Negotiations were started. Russia dallied and delayed, still increasing her forces, completing her Siberian railroad, and gaining diplomatic and other footholds in corrupt and intriguing Korea. This exasperating, inso-

lent and ominous policy produced the break between Japan and Russia.

The Russo-Japanese War. Japan felt that the complete possession by Russia of Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea threatened her very existence as an independent nation, and that the "partition of China" also would be a mere question of time. But Japan's earnest grasp at "civilization" had been so far successful that single-handed, though indirectly supported by her alliance with Great Britain, she beat back the "Bear of the North," and for the time being saved, not only herself, but also China from the impending "White Peril" that had swept over all South Asia from Mesopotamia to Cochin China, and North Asia from European Russia to Alaska.

But enough. Further statement of occidental wrong-doing in the Far East is needless. In the light, however, of these experiences by Asiatics, and the conditions produced thereby, we may now formulate a few suggestions as to the general character of the policy which the United States should pursue in its dealings with China and Japan. It must be in general a policy that will continuously win their good-will and inspire confidence in our character and our international purposes. Does the following enumeration meet the requirements?

1. Among the delicate problems immediately confronting both the United States and Japan is that of their respective policies in the Pacific Ocean. "The Mastery of the Pacific" is a favorite theme with jingo writers and agitators on both sides of the Ocean. Japan has recently acquired certain islands formerly belonging to Germany. In reaching them she inevitably crosses the line of our travel to the Philippine Islands. Should

Japan, after the fashion of the western nations, and as we ourselves have done in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, proceed to fortify one or more of those newly-acquired islands and build upon them strong naval bases, what would be the effect upon American feelings and upon America's Pacific Ocean policies?

This question may throw light upon the not unnatural feelings and apprehensions entertained by some Japanese because of America's expansion in the Pacific through the acquisition of Alaska, the Aleutian Islands, the Hawaiian Islands, Guam, and the Philippine Islands, especially because of our establishment of powerful military and naval bases at Honolulu and Corregidor.

In view of all the circumstances, and also in view of the proposal of the United States to give the Filipinos their independence in the not distant future, would it not be advisable for the United States, Japan, Great Britain and other governments possessing islands in the Pacific Ocean, after full conference, to enter upon a mutual compact; first, to maintain the complete independence and integrity of the Philippine Islands; second, to fortify and use as naval bases no islands in the Pacific Ocean; third, to dismantle such fortifications as now exist (Honolulu, for instance)?

This proposal, of course, does not mean that Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Formosa or the Philippines shall be unfortified, or have no naval bases. This proposition concerns only those islands out in the Pacific which might be made convenient stepping stones across the Pacific in case of conflict.

Such a procedure would make the Pacific Ocean truly "pacific"—an unfortified ocean between East and West.

Under such conditions a naval attack by Japan upon the United States or a naval attack by the United States upon Japan would be practically impossible.

Such joint action would be a pledge of the most powerful and striking kind, that any difficulties that may arise between the United States and Japan would be settled by reason and conference, not by appeal to force. The common agreement by Japan and the United States to endorse and follow such a policy would destroy the foundations of many an aggravating jingoistic attack in each land upon the other, and would also confirm the confidence of each land in the good-will and sincerity of the international policies of the other.

2. Might not American diplomacy take steps to suggest to the various Powers the importance of making adequate provision for the political independence and integrity of China? Is not this a time peculiarly appropriate for such action? Should not International plans be made and agreements entered upon at an early date for the return to China by the European powers of all the sections of her territory that have been taken from her? Naturally this return must be arranged for in such wise that injury shall not be done to private individuals. Such return can, of course, be effected only when China is prepared to administer these "concessions" with justice and equity to all. But the knowledge on the part of China that the Powers are ready to return these ports and provinces as soon as she qualifies for their administration would not only remove animosity and suspicion, and produce a fine feeling of trust and good-will, but would be a powerful factor in the promotion of Chinese development.

These suggestions do not of course propose instant action without suitable guarantees or compensations. History has established certain conditions which cannot be treated as though they were not. Yet the sovereignty and dignity of China demand that these conditions shall not permanently remain. China, on her side, must of course qualify for the resumption of these rights and responsibilities. Plans honorable and equitable for all the parties concerned can certainly be found when selfish ambitions are abandoned. It is folly for Occidentals to fancy that China can feel really friendly to western nations so long as they hold, by military force, strategic places within her boundaries. Foreign troops in her capital and foreign domination in important ports and provinces insult her dignity and infringe her sovereignty.

Having said thus much on behalf of China it may be desirable to add that China should *really qualify* for such recovery of rights. No sham reforms or superficial changes will suffice. Her plight to-day is in no small part due to the political stupidity, practical insufficiency and financial corruption of her political leaders. The foreign Governments have been practically forced to impose many of the obnoxious conditions because of China's own faulty actions and lack of response to the new world-order.

In contrast to China look at Japan. She took a virile course. She completely reorganized her government, her educational system, her courts of justice, her police system and everything else as well as her army and navy. China needs to do the same. Those who do it must be genuine men, true patriots and high-minded, self-sacrificing reformers. Not until genuine patriots in large

numbers arise, clean, incorruptible, self-sacrificing, may we look for that national regeneration pre-essential to the recovery and continued maintenance of international independence.

The world, on the other hand, cannot afford to coddle China. Not only China's own welfare, but that of every nation is vitally connected with her early attainment of political stability and of harmonious response to the new world-environment. The world cannot afford to have enormous international slums. China must set her house in order. If she does not, others will. Nor may she long pose as a friendless, helpless maiden looking to the United States as a big brother to come to her rescue. She must help herself. Until she does her own part, no outside forces can help her much.

The real cause of Korea's failure to maintain her national independence was in her inner incompetence and corruption. She was unable to reform her social structure, moral life, and political practises to meet the demands of the new world-environment. Should the hundreds of Chinese students now studying in America prove as capable and self-sacrificing as did Japan's students who came to the West in the seventies and eighties, and should there arise great patriots in China as in Japan in the sixties, seventies and eighties, then there is hope for China. A mere change, however, in the form of government from Empire to Republic without change in the hearts and heads and lives of those in office will avail China nothing. Indeed a corrupt republic is sure to be just as helpless and in reality just as hopeless as a corrupt empire.

If the United States takes steps to aid China in the

recovery of international status and sovereignty, China on her part should be clearly shown the conditions and significance of that help.

3. "Extra-territoriality" is a familiar word in the Far East. It refers to the administration of occidental laws in oriental territory. English consular courts, for instance, administer English law; French consular courts, French law; German courts, German law; American courts, American law, and similarly throughout the list of western nations having treaties with China. This arrangement was doubtless inevitable when relations were first established between the lands of the West and the East. Japan, however, resenting this invasion of her sovereignty, promptly proceeded to qualify in order to meet the requirements and get rid of the obnoxious and humiliating situation. For the fair name and self-respect of China and in the establishment of right international relations, should not the western nations frankly say to China, collectively or individually, that they are willing to give up enforcement of "extra-territorial" laws and practises as soon as China qualifies herself to administer justice on cosmopolitan principles? Would not such an announcement have powerful influence, not only in promoting right feelings in China toward occidental nations, but also in giving strength to the reform movements in China, inspiring them with strong motives and holding out splendid international results to be secured by national progress? Might not America lead off in such a splendid move, which could bring nothing but gain to China and honor for all the participating nations?

4. Among the humiliating and injurious conditions

forced on China by the aggressive nations of Christendom is the requirement that she shall not impose an import duty of more than five per cent. ad valorem. This is a clear infringement of China's sovereignty (in the advantages of which all the nations are sharing) as well as a serious handicap to her economic prosperity. It prevents the Government of China not only from utilizing a source of revenue that every western government draws upon heavily, especially America, but also from promoting home industries through the aid of a protective tariff. The importance of this latter point America has special reason to know. In the interests, therefore, of China's own economic welfare, as well as out of regard to her sovereignty, should not the nations of the West take early steps to return to China full power to regulate her own import duties? What western nation would accept dictation from others in such a vital matter?

Why may not American diplomacy take the lead in securing such a restoration? Of course, the imposition of higher import duties would doubtless interrupt occidental and Japanese trade, but would it not be to China's real and permanent advantage? In the long run would not a prosperous China be a better trader with other lands than a poverty-stricken country and a financially impotent Government?

5. "Spheres of Influence" is another well-known phrase in Chinese affairs. Each of the aggressive governments of the West, seeking special privileges for their traders and capitalists, has secured from China special concessions in specified areas of her territory. In the Russian "sphere of influence" other nations suffer discrim-

inatory treatment and do not enjoy full opportunity for trade and the various economic advantages; similarly in the British, French and Japanese "spheres of influence." These "spheres of influence" are secured and protected by certain treaty pledges. Carefully considered, these "spheres of influence" are incipient infringements of Chinese sovereignty, concessions that under certain conditions might easily develop into the "partition of China among the powers."

What western nation would for a moment endure a proposal from another nation to grant it a "sphere of influence"? Has not the time come for the leading nations of the world to abandon this invidious and obnoxious practise so humiliating to China? Why should not Germans, British, Russians, Japanese, French, Americans, Spanish and other individuals enjoy equal advantages, rights and privileges in any and every part of China to which foreigners are admitted?

Would it not be to China's permanent interest, and also to the real interest of every nation, to do away with all "spheres of influence"? If so, would it not be a suitable and friendly act for America to take the needful steps to bring this question also before the nations and secure cooperative action? For in this as in the other cases, no nation can act alone. The action must be collective or no forward step is possible.

6. America's duty in the Philippines is to be estimated not only from the standpoint of our material and financial interests, and of the welfare of the many tribes that inhabit those islands, but also from that of the whole international situation. When we took over their ownership from Spain we became responsible not only

for the peace and prosperity of the people but also for the maintenance of their right relations with the rest of the world.

Before granting them complete independence therefore we must be sure that they are able not only to maintain a stable government, and deal justly with one another, but also to deal justly with aliens in their territory and with the governments of the world. Should we withdraw before they are ready to fulfil these conditions, political, commercial and financial chaos would necessitate either reoccupation by us or occupation by some other government. Their seizure, however, whether by France, England, Germany, Australia or Japan, could not fail to cause fresh international tension between the nations. These considerations make it clear that American oriental diplomacy must proceed cautiously and with assured knowledge of the consequences before we grant complete independence.

7. Might not Congress invite to the United States as guests of the nation groups of the leading statesmen from China and Japan? This should of course be done in a spirit of fraternal good-will, avoiding every appearance of patronage or condescension. These men should visit a score of our principal cities, spending enough time in Washington to make personal acquaintances. They should make addresses at our principal universities, and meet our leading representatives of business and labor in the Chambers of Commerce, Central Labor Councils and the great national gatherings of many kinds. Consultations should be held as to methods for promoting international acquaintance and good-will.

8. What better method could be devised for grappling

with the real problems of our relations with Asia than the establishment by Congress of a "Federal Commission on Oriental Relations"? Let it take adequate time to study the new international and interracial situation arising with the new world-order. This Commission might well be composed of our ablest international lawyers, statesmen, economists and sociologists. Let them consider every phase of the problems of our relations with Japan and China, formulate proposals for Federal legislation, and let Congress endorse and pass such recommendations as they may make. The Commission might well visit both Japan and China and consult fully with the statesmen of those lands.

9. Might not Congress appropriate a million dollars annually, one half of which should provide scholarships to Japanese and Chinese students for study in the United States and the other half be used for American students to study in Japan and China? Consider what would be the effect on our mutual understanding and appreciation and also on the development of commerce, if such a policy were carried out for thirty years.

In carrying out this proposal, extreme care would of course be needed. This applies not only to the selection of Japanese and Chinese students to come to America, but also of American students to go to the Orient. Only men of tested moral character should be subjected to the moral strain of life in a foreign land. "To send our boys to the Orient indiscriminately would of course wreck them," writes a friend. The institutions to which they go, their courses of study and their residences should be decided on consultation with proper advisers. Their work and conduct should be subject to the super-

vision of responsible administrators. These should have authority to send home at once those who do not conform to the required standards of life, conduct and scholarship. Properly safeguarded, great good could not fail to come from the interchange of students.

10. Again, might not visits to China and Japan be made in numbers by business men and members of women's clubs and societies? Let them go, not merely as dilettante sightseers, curio-hunters and pleasure seekers, but as students in serious quest of international knowledge. Let them spend the needed time, three or four months at least, in studying and traveling. The interest no less than the value of such travel would be far greater than that experienced by the ordinary "globe-trotter." The results, moreover, not only in the shape of head knowledge, but in that of sympathy and appreciation, would be an important contribution to the cause of universal good-will and permanent peace.

11. Regarding the question of race intermarriage between Caucasians and Asiatics, should not an interracial commission of experts in biology, psychology and sociology be established for the study of the actual results of race amalgamation? Should intermarriage be found to be as a rule disastrous, resulting in many abnormal or subnormal individuals, or in monstrosities, physical or moral, laws forbidding intermarriage, could easily be passed in Japan and China as well as among Caucasian peoples. Laws passed under such circumstances would not be misunderstood as being due to race prejudice, and would not accordingly be resented by either side.

12. In time of special calamity in Japan and China—of flood, famine and earthquake—let Congress appro-

priate adequate sums for relief, amounting if need be even to millions of dollars.

13. Let private enterprise continue in increasing measure the excellent work of the past, in education, medical work, philanthropy, and the direct proclamation of the Gospel message of the Heavenly Father's love and the brotherhood of man. These are the great creative ideas and forces which lift individuals and peoples to higher levels of life and to nobler manhood. These are the deeds of kindness that break down prejudice, and call forth confidence and establish good-will.

Such are the main principles and proposals of those who urge "Golden Rule Internationalism" as the solution of the problem confronting the Occident due to the awakening of Asia and her entrance into the life of the world.

In his notable address at Mobile (October, 1913) President Wilson well stated the general principles of true international relationships. He was speaking, it is true, with the South American nations in view, but his words are equally true of the world as a whole. As reported by the press, he said:

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions, upon terms of equality and honor. We cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality. We cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor, and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not. It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest. It not only is unfair to those with whom

you are dealing, but it is degrading upon the part of your own actions.

"Human rights, national integrity and opportunity, as against material interests—that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face." [1]

REFERENCE LITERATURE ON CHAPTER IV

The first published proposal for the restriction of all immigration along the lines of this chapter is contained in *The American Japanese Problem,* Chapter XVII. A briefer statement was made in the *The Fight for Peace,* Chapter XII. The most explicit and adequate presentation of the proposal, and the most complete tabulation of the statistics bearing upon the matter, is given in the preceding pages and in the Appendix.

The volume entitled "The Japanese Problem in the United States." Chapter XI supports the proposed plan to limit all immigration on a percentage plan.

"Protection of Aliens," reports of committee of Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, viz.:

Baldwin, "Protection by the United States of the Rights of Aliens," *Proceedings of 1915,* p. 148.

Short, "Federal Protection of Aliens in the United States," *Proceedings of 1914,* p. 74.

Wilson, "Treaty Obligations and Protection of Aliens," *Proceedings of 1913,* p. 189.

[1] Quoted from the author's *The Fight for Peace,* 151.

CONCLUSION

Who Is Responsible?

A practical question is now before us. How is such a policy as that outlined in the preceding chapter to become effective? Who should advocate it and insist upon its being put into operation?

It runs counter to much of our past. It conflicts with not a few local prejudices and many material interests. The obstacles to its adoption are many, and many of these are powerful. Perhaps the most powerful of all is the momentum of bad habits, national and international. If, therefore, the third policy is the right one for America, those who take that view must consider how its adoption is to be secured.

The United States, fortunately, is so organized politically that every citizen has his share of responsibility and also of opportunity, for all that happens. Any movement therefore of thought or will which is sufficiently accepted by the people may be put into practise and tested.

The method also for securing the national adoption of this policy is clear. Those who believe in it must first carry on a nation-wide campaign of education. Few, relatively speaking, know as yet the facts and the factors of America's Oriental Problem. When the campaign of education has sufficiently advanced the time will come for legislation. And finally, when legislation has been enacted, then will the time come for administrative

officials, diplomats, and ambassadors to carry out the will of the people.

Who now should be regarded as responsible for the adoption of the proposed policy?

1. *Business men* who desire opportunity for uninterrupted trade under the most extensive and most wholesome conditions. Can anyone question the proposition that the third policy will ultimately produce conditions far more favorable for commerce than either of the other policies?

2. *Citizens* in all the lowly walks of life, and laboring classes, who desire the lowest possible taxation and the greatest possible prosperity through uninterrupted opportunity for work. If the arguments advanced in these pages are correct the pursuance of either the first or the second policy cannot fail to entail vast expenses for military and naval development. The third policy alone gives promise of diminishing expenses in preparations for war, and of promoting the highest general prosperity.

3. *Industrial workers, parents, women and children* upon whom the tragedy of war falls most heavily. Policies one and two cannot fail sooner or later to involve the United States in a conflict with Asia. While capitalistic classes suffer somewhat they also often make vast profits out of war. The real sufferers are the young men who are wounded and crippled for life, the parents who lose support, the mothers, the widows, and the orphaned children. These then are classes who should feel the responsibility for adopting the third policy.

4. *Christians,* who believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. War between peoples and

races is no part of God's plan for his children. War conflicts with the establishment of those relations of justice, righteousness and good-will that are fundamental factors in the kingdom of Heaven.

5. *Foreign Mission Boards and Societies* should be supremely conscious of their responsibility for the adoption of this third policy. These groups of men and women devoted to foreign missions are actively concerned with the establishment in foreign lands of the kingdom of Love first proclaimed by Jesus Christ. One of the mighty obstacles, however, to the success of their enterprise is the failure of Christian lands and our own land to adopt the principles of the Kingdom in their dealings with the Orient. It would therefore seem that all Christians whose hearts have already become so opened to the mighty vision of a world-brotherhood, and whose efforts are devoted to its realization, should be actively opposed to the continuance of policies one and two. Are they not the ones who should take every possible step to secure the early adoption of policy three? The outbreak of war between Japan and America, or between China and America, would ring the death knell of missionary work in those lands.

What factor for promoting Christian Missions in Japan and China is more important than the adoption by America of the third policy?

If the above considerations are cogent then why should there not be developed an active campaign in all parts of America for the study of this problem and the adoption of these principles?

Such a campaign is indeed beginning. The World

Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the churches—American Branch—is inviting every local church to establish its own Peace Makers' Committee. By this act the churches will become affiliated with each other and with the World Alliance of Churches, and will together enter on those courses of study and action for the development of intelligent public opinion upon which reliance must be placed for the effective adoption by the nation of the Golden Rule as its guiding principle in international relations. What more important duty calls to-day for patriotic volunteers than this of setting right our relations with Asia and Asiatics? All who believe in the New Internationalism should cooperate in the demand that righteousness and good-will dominate America's International Policies.

"Blessed are the Peace Makers."

APPENDIX A

Statistical Tables and Charts

The statistical tables of this appendix give the actual immigration of the five years ending June 30, 1915, so classified as to show what the effect upon that immigration would have been if the proposed five per cent. standard for its limitation had been in force. The basal figures here given have been especially prepared for the writer by the statistician of the Bureau of Immigration.

In classifying aliens the Immigration Bureau distinguishes between immigrants (who come for permanent residence here) and non-immigrants (who come for a transient stay). The five per cent. restriction proposal does not in any way limit the entering of non-immigrants, of children or of women. It affects only males fourteen years of age and over.

Column 6 gives the standards for the maximum permissible annual immigration of males from the various races and peoples according to the five per cent. restriction policy here advocated. This column is derived from the Census of 1910; the figure for each people is five per cent. of the American-born children of foreign parents of that people plus the number of those from that same people who have become naturalized citizens. This last item (the naturalized citizens) was secured "by mathematical calculations based upon Tables XIII and XXXIII, pp. 975 and 1082, Vol. I, of the Census Population Report for 1910." Subtracting the figures of

column 6 from those of column 5 (the average annual number of males actually admitted) we secure column 7, showing the annual average number of males who would have been excluded had the five per cent. limitation principle been in force.

The number of immigrant children admitted during the five years ending June 30, 1915, may be secured by subtracting the sum of the figures given in Table I, columns 3 and 4 from the corresponding figures given in column 2.

In order to show in more detail the working of the five per cent. limitation plan, Tables III and IV have been added dealing with Japan, China and Italy for each year from 1911 to 1915.

Points to Notice

1. The proposals here made would impose a more rigid restriction not only upon Japanese but also upon Chinese than that which is imposed by the present laws and arrangements.

2. The restriction upon Italians is particularly striking. But note the large disparity between Italian male and female immigrants (Table III, columns 4 and 5).

3. The plan here proposed if in force would have imposed no restriction upon Hebrew immigration.

4. The average immigration from Europe for the past five years was of course seriously disturbed by a striking decrease for 1915 because of the war. Allowance must be made for this factor.

5. The restriction of the immigration of men will of course sooner or later affect that of women and children.

6. In column 6, 1,000 should be substituted in each

place where the five per cent. rate would allow an immigration less than this amount, in harmony with the proposal of paragraph (d) on page 54. This explains the apparent discrepancy between charts on pages 86 and 89 as to the maximum permissible immigration of South Europeans.[1]

7. The total annual average immigration of males from those countries whose actual immigration was less than their permissible maximum amounted to about 170,000, while the total permissible annual immigration of males from those countries that exceeded their permissible maximum amounted to about 136,000. If the immigration, therefore, of the past five years had been regulated by the policy set forth in this pamphlet, the average immigration of males from all countries would have been about 306,000 annually, instead of the average of 518,000 which actually were admitted.

8. The apparent discrepancy between the total immigration given on page 87 and the total admissions from Europe alone given on page 88 is due to the inclusion of non-immigrants in the latter figure and their exclusion from the former figure.

[1] To simplify the charts, South Europeans is used for South and East, and North Europeans for North and West Europeans.

TABLES SHOWING HOW THE FIVE PER CENT RESTRICTION PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE AFFECTED IMMIGRATION FOR THE PERIOD 1911–1915

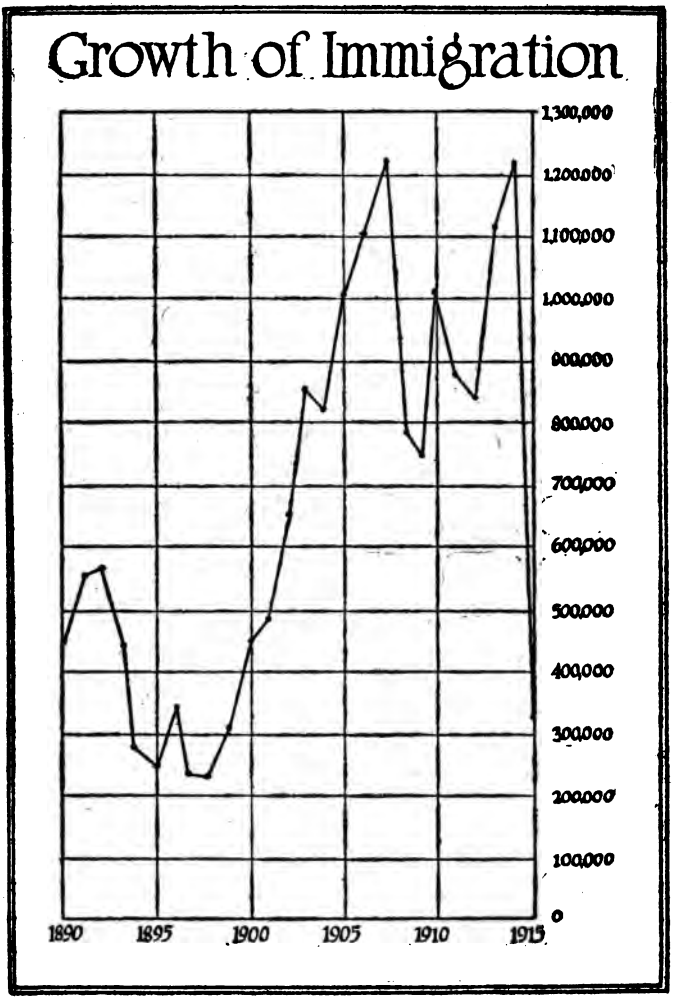
RACE OR PEOPLE	TABLE I — Aliens Actually Admitted During the Five Years Ending June 30, 1915; comp. Annual Reports of Immigration Bureau, Tables IV and VII B					TABLE II — The Proposed Five Per Cent. Standard	
	1 Non-Immigrants	2 Immigrants	3 Female Immigrants 14 Years and Over	4 Male Immigrants 14 Years and Over	5 Annual Average of Column 4	6 Maximum Permissible Annual Immigration of Males (1)	7 Annual Average of Males Who Would Have Been Excluded (2)
1. African (black)	16,173	34,221	13,042	18,114	3,622	209	3,413
2. Armenian	786	26,384	3,346	21,180	4,236	444	3,792
3. Bohemian and Moravian	2,689	40,332	14,199	18,388	3,677	16,994	.....
4. Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin	6,301	48,556	3,873	42,506	8,501	†5,601	†19,916
5. Croatian and Slovenian	7,938	125,073	29,088	85,083	17,016	.....	.....
6. Chinese	12,090	9,760	1,212	7,778	1,555	1,106	449
7. Cuban	15,565	17,109	4,297	10,326	2,065	590	1,475
8. Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	920	18,046	2,169	15,185	3,037	*.....	.....
9. Dutch and Flemish	16,426	58,545	15,893	30,816	6,163	12,956	.....
10. East Indian	263	1,124	37	1,070	214	*.....	.....
11. English	166,990	252,877	91,865	119,730	23,946	127,745	.....
12. Finnish	6,387	45,453	16,423	24,956	4,991	5,038	.....
13. French	27,595	87,968	30,525	41,636	8,327	47,735	.....
14. German	79,920	313,279	109,081	148,634	29,726	333,581	.....
15. Greek	10,690	168,299	15,833	145,859	29,171	886	28,285
16. Hebrew	17,719	437,696	150,083	186,402	37,280	37,342	.....
17. Irish	49,317	168,592	75,491	81,220	16,244	201,491	.....
18. Italian (North)	36,282	154,751	33,319	104,502	20,900	††45,768	††72,568
19. Italian (South)	96,051	825,250	175,281	537,181	107,436	.....	.....
20. Japanese	15,562	36,599	22,317	12,292	2,458	1,220	1,238
21. Korean	58	403	205	159	32	*.....	.....

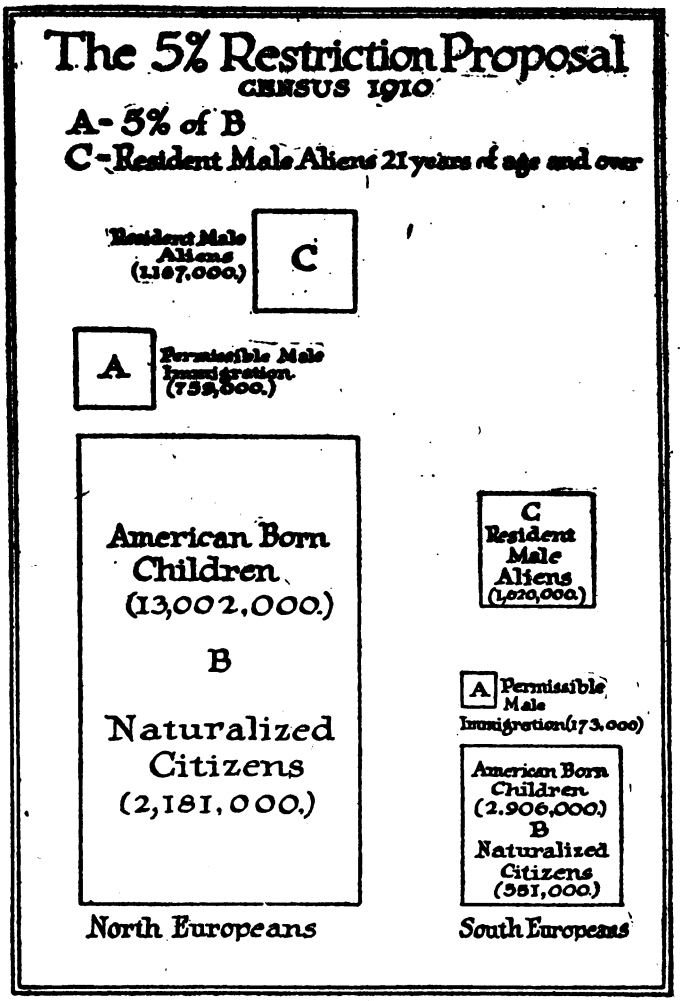
22. Lithuanian	2,697	79,974	28,442	44,766	8,953	4,360	3,593
23. Magyar	11,845	122,347	40,975	61,616	12,323	5,436	6,887
24. Mexican	23,462	75,821	20,179	36,752	7,350	8,648	.....
25. Pacific Islander	76	33	11	20	4	*.....	.....
26. Polish	26,631	462,696	151,604	260,008	52,001	49,212	2,789
27. Portuguese	4,702	44,461	12,274	24,809	4,961	3,788	1,173
28. Roumanian	4,038	52,361	8,836	40,320	8,064	676	7,388
29. Russian	15,789	142,167	16,255	119,513	23,902	2,203	21,699
30. Ruthenian (Russniak)	†21,104	109,937	37,186	65,262	13,052	663	12,389
31. Scandinavian	56,621	176,513	58,573	102,701	20,520	102,095	.....
32. Scotch	41,193	100,518	37,603	46,275	9,235	38,776	.....
33. Slovak	7,153	101,815	33,385	53,849	10,769	6,831	3,938
34. Spanish	25,870	42,949	6,981	31,254	6,250	906	5,344
35. Spanish-American	9,268	7,069	1,764	4,237	847	128	719
36. Syrian	2,953	30,969	8,114	18,691	3,738	844	2,894
37. Turkish	436	7,235	370	6,672	1,334	58	1,276
38. Welsh	4,278	11,255	3,245	6,230	1,246	12,188	.....
39. West Indian (except Cuba)	6,329	5,663	2,213	2,814	562	17	445
40. Others	2,009	15,728	1,174	13,954	2,790	.....	.....
Totals	852,176	4,459,831	1,276,763	2,592,770	518,554	.....	.....

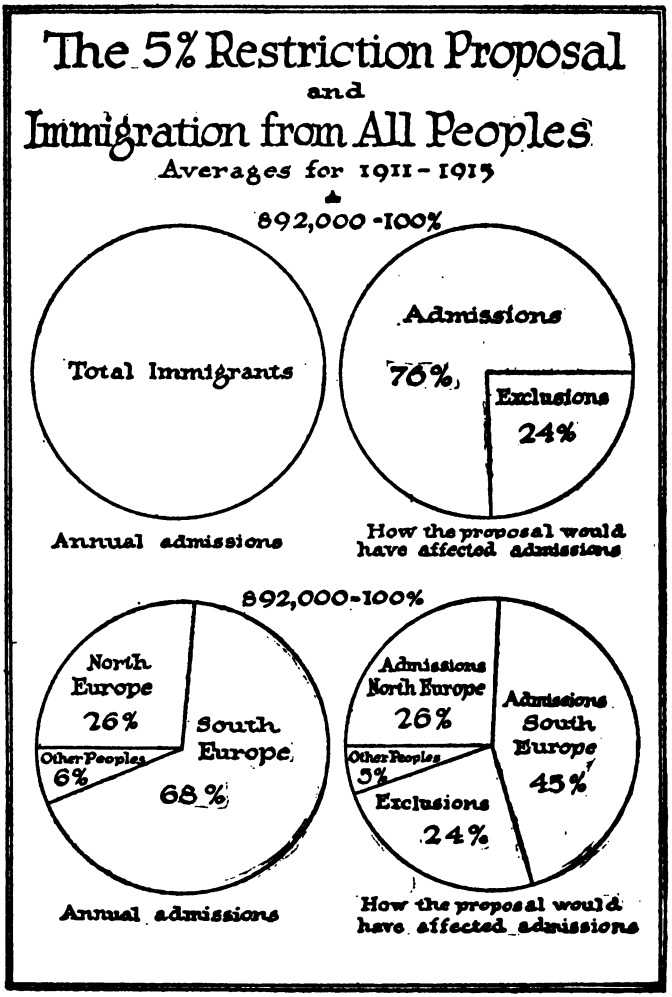
(1) For the derivation of the figures given in this column, see explanatory paragraph page 79.
(2) The figures of this column are secured by subtracting the figures of column 6 from those of column 5.
* No Census Data.
† Bulgarians, Croatians, etc., are combined in this column.
†† North and South Italians are combined in this column.

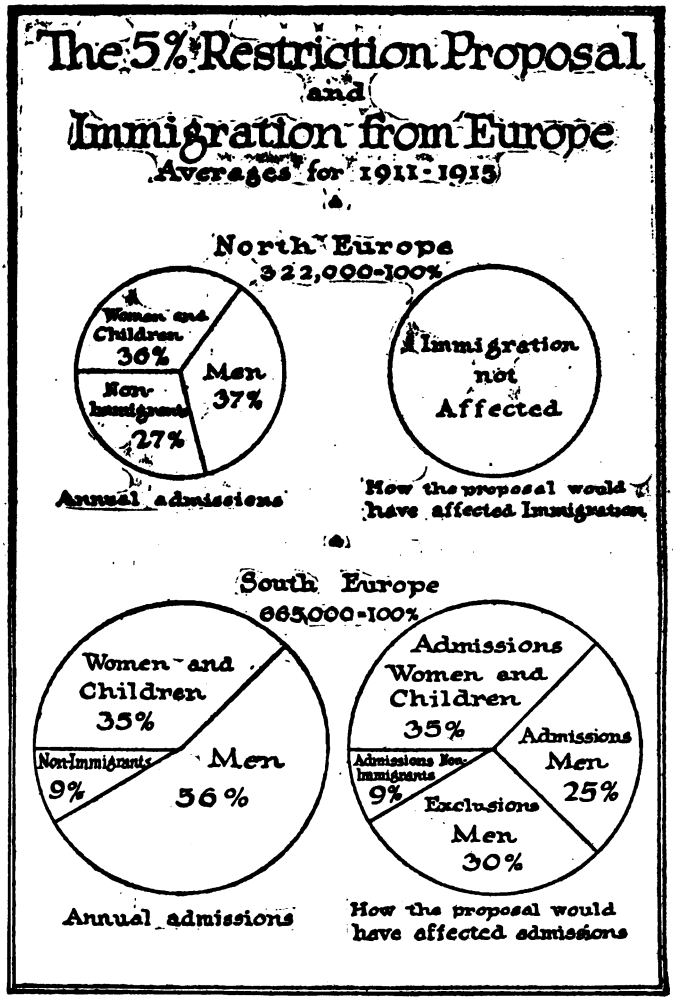
TABLES SHOWING HOW THE FIVE PER CENT. RESTRICTION PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE AFFECTED IMMIGRATION FROM JAPAN, CHINA, AND ITALY FOR EACH OF THE FIVE YEARS INDICATED

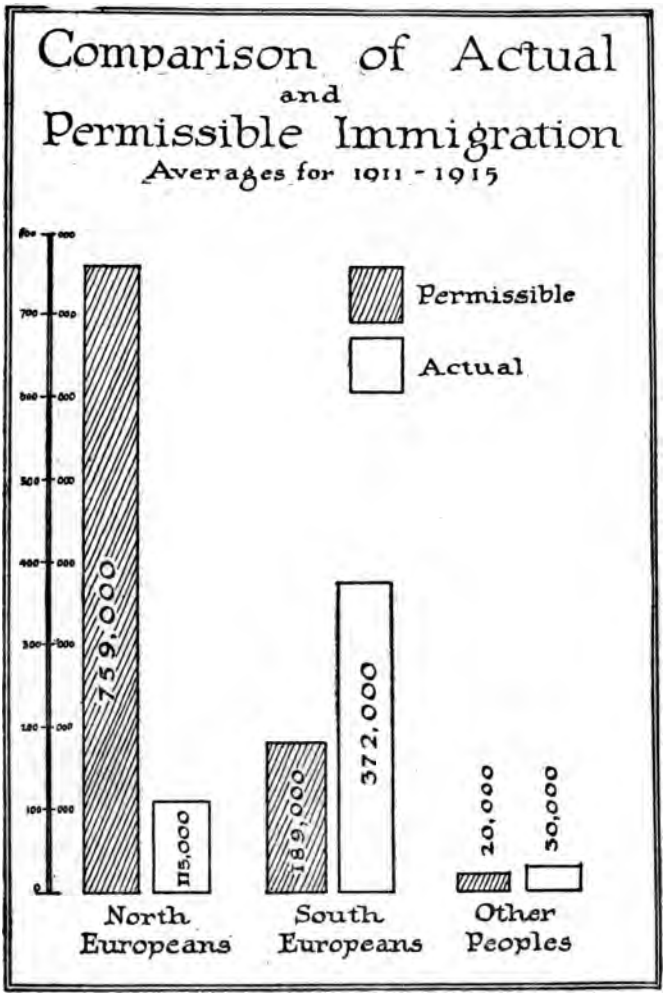
	TABLE III — Aliens Actually Admitted for the Years Indicated; cf. Annual Reports of Immigration Bureau					TABLE IV — The Proposed Five Per Cent. Standard	
	1 Non-Immigrants	2 Immigrants	3 Children Under 14	4 Women 14 Years and Over	5 Men 14 Years and Over	6 Maximum Permissible Annual migration of Males	7 Males Who Would Have Been Excluded
JAPANESE:							
1911	1,915	4,575	300	3,011	1,264	1,220	44
1912	2,574	6,172	328	4,123	1,721	1,220	501
1913	3,370	8,302	437	4,988	2,877	1,220	1,657
1914	4,075	8,941	438	5,502	3,001	1,220	1,781
1915	3,628	8,609	487	4,693	3,429	1,220	2,209
	15,562	36,599	1,990	22,317	12,292	6,100	6,192
CHINESE:							
1911	4,350	1,307	112	165	1,030	1,106	....
1912	3,883	1,608	207	201	1,200	1,106	94
1913	1,465	2,022	189	303	1,530	1,106	424
1914	1,218	2,354	144	276	1,934	1,106	828
1915	1,174	2,469	118	267	2,084	1,106	978
	12,090	9,760	770	1,212	7,778	5,530	2,324
ITALIANS:							
1911	23,410	189,950	24,071	39,761	126,118	45,768	80,350
1912	27,650	162,273	23,114	38,262	100,867	45,768	55,099
1913	44,372	274,147	31,550	50,263	192,334	45,768	146,566
1914	27,320	296,414	37,711	60,695	198,008	45,768	152,240
1915	9,452	57,217	13,272	19,589	24,356	45,768	.....
	132,204	980,001	129,718	208,600	641,683	228,840	434,255

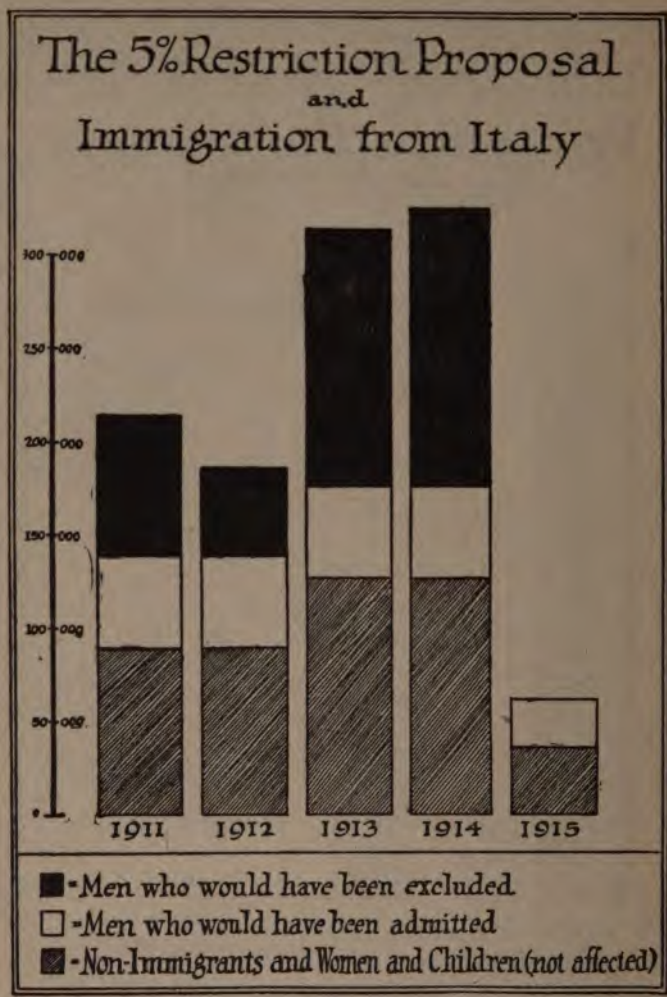

Growth of Immigration
1,300,000
1,200,000
1,100,000
1,000,000
900,000
800,000
700,000
600,000
500,000
400,000
300,000
200,000
100,000
0
1890
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915

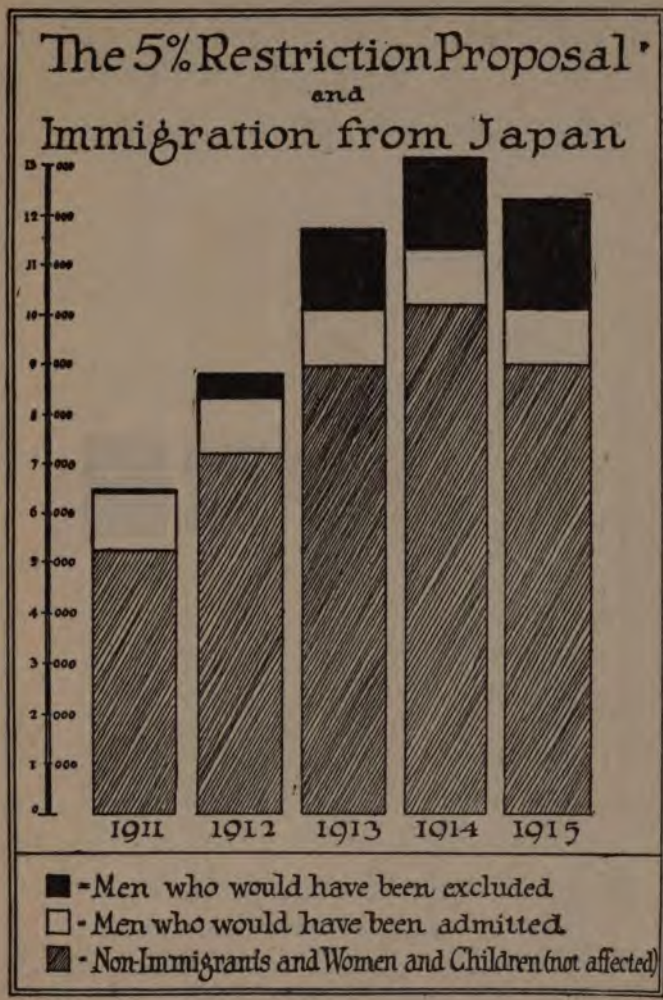

The 5% Restriction Proposal
CENSUS 1910
A-5% of B
C-Resident Male Aliens 21 years of age and over
Resident Male Aliens (1,167,000.)
C
A
Permissible Male Immigration (758,000.)
American Born Children (13,002,000.)
B
Naturalized Citizens (2,181,000.)
North Europeans
C Resident Male Aliens (1,020,000.)
A Permissible Male Immigration (173,000)
American Born Children (2,906,000.)
B
Naturalized Citizens (581,000.)
South Europeans

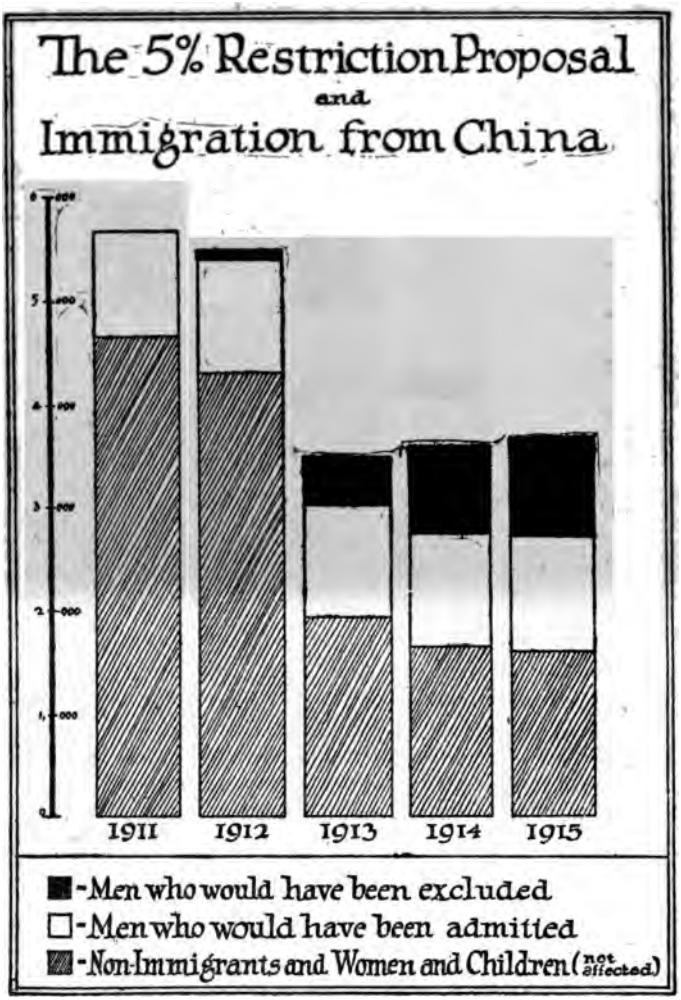

The 5% Restriction Proposal
and
Immigration from All Peoples
Averages for 1911-1915
892,000 -100%
Total Immigrants
Annual admissions
Admissions
76%
Exclusions
24%
How the proposal would have affected admissions
892,000-100%
North Europe 26%
South Europe 68%
Other Peoples 6%
Annual admissions
Admissions North Europe 26%
Admissions South Europe 45%
Other Peoples 5%
Exclusions 24%
How the proposal would have affected admissions


The 5% Restriction Proposal
and
Immigration from Europe
Averages for 1911-1915
North Europe
322,000-100%
Women and Children 36%
Men 37%
Non-Immigrants 27%
Annual admissions
Immigration not Affected
How the proposal would have affected Immigration
South Europe
665,000-100%
Women and Children 35%
Non-Immigrants 9%
Men 56%
Annual admissions
Admissions Women and Children 35%
Admissions Non-Immigrants 9%
Admissions Men 25%
Exclusions Men 30%
How the proposal would have affected admissions


Comparison of Actual
and
Permissible Immigration
Averages for 1911 - 1915
Permissible
Actual
759,000
115,000
189,000
372,000
20,000
30,000
North Europeans
South Europeans
Other Peoples


The 5% Restriction Proposal
and
Immigration from Italy
300 000
250 000
200 000
150 000
100 000
50 000
0
1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
■ - Men who would have been excluded
□ - Men who would have been admitted
▨ - Non-Immigrants and Women and Children (not affected)


The 5% Restriction Proposal
and
Immigration from Japan
1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
■ - Men who would have been excluded
□ - Men who would have been admitted
▨ - Non-Immigrants and Women and Children (not affected)


The 5% Restriction Proposal
and
Immigration from China
1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
■-Men who would have been excluded
□-Men who would have been admitted
▨-Non-Immigrants and Women and Children (not effected)

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

1. *Europe's Tragedy and America's Awakening*

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Ainslee, Peter. Christ or Napoleon, Which? 1914. F. H. Revell Co., New York.

Gulick, Sidney L. The Fight for Peace. 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.

Jefferson, Charles E. Christianity and International Peace. 1915. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

Lynch, Frederick. The Last War. 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.

2. *The Asiatic Problem*

De Forest, John H. "The Truth About Japan." World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Jordan, David Starr. Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation, pp. 63-65, "A War Scare: The United States and Japan." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Jordan, David Starr. War and Waste, pp. 261-272, "The Japanese Immigration, Anti-Alien Legislation in California, the Race Problem of America." 1913. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

PERIODICALS

"Captain Hobson as a War Prophet." *Review of Reviews,* New York. Vol. XXXVIII, 366, 367, September, 1908.

"Dangerous Falsehoods." *Outlook,* New York. July 26, 1913.

"Diplomatic Communications with Japan." *Outlook,* New York. Vol. CVII, 578-580, July 11, 1914.

"Dream Book: War Between Japan and the United States." *Outlook,* New York. Vol. CXI, 535, 536, November 3, 1915.

"Folly of War Talk." *Review of Reviews,* New York. Vol. XXXVI, 131-136, 1909.

"Inevitable War Between the United States and Japan," by P. H. B. d'Estournelles de Constant. *Independent,* New York. Vol. LXX, 1261-1265, 1911.

"If War Should Come," by Richmond P. Hobson. *Cosmopolitan,* New York. Vol. XLIV, 584-593; Vol. XLV, 38-47, 382-387. May-June, September, 1908.

"Japanese Bogy." *World's Work,* New York. Vol. XXI, 14076, 14077, 1911.

"Japan's Preference for Peace with America," by Y. Ichihashi. *Outlook, New York.* Vol. LXXXVII, 295-297, 1907.
"Public Nuisance." *Independent,* New York. Vol. LXV, 161, 162, July 16, 1908.
"Relations of Japan and the United States," by David Starr Jordan. *Journal of Race Development,* Worcester, Mass. Vol. II, 215-224, January, 1912.
"Relations of the United States with China and Japan," by T. Iyenaga. *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science,* Philadelphia. Vol. LIV, 254-259, July, 1914.
"Relations of the United States with China and Japan," by J. G. Kasai. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Philadelphia. Vol. LIV, 260-269, July, 1914.
"Straining an Historic Friendship," by Hamilton Holt. *Independent,* New York. May 1, 1913.
"Views of the Navy and Japan." *Independent,* New York. Vol. LXIV, 165, 167, January 16, 1908.
"Why Japan Cannot Declare War." *Literary Digest,* New York. Vol. XLVI, 1369, June 21, 1913.
"Why a Japanese-American War is Impossible." *Review of Reviews,* New York. Vol. XLIII, 613, 614. 1911.
"Yarn of Turtle Bay." *Outlook,* New York. Vol. CIX, 951. April 28, 1915.

CHAPTER II

1. *White Race World Supremacy*

BOOKS

Millis, H. A. The Japanese Problem in the United States. 1915. Macmillan Co., New York.
Abbott, James Francis. Japanese Expansion and American Policies. 1916. Macmillan Co., New York.

PERIODICALS

"America, Japan and the Pacific," by A. Kinnosuke. *Harper's Weekly, New York.* Vol. LX, 177-179, February 20, 1915.
"Inferiority of the Caucasian Race." *Independent,* New York. Vol. LXVI, 330, 331. 1909.
"Is the United States a World Power?" by Ignotus. *North American Review,* New York. Vol. CLXXXIII, 1107-1119. 1906.
"Issue with Japan Grows Into a World Issue." *Current Opinion,* New York. Vol. LV, 7-11, July, 1913.
"Not the Right Way." *Outlook,* New York. Vol. CVII, 645, July 18, 1914.
"Our Duty to China and to Japan." *Literary Digest, New York.* Vol. L, 737, 738, April 3, 1915.

2. *The Effects of the First Policy on the White Race*

BOOKS

D'Estournelles de Constant, Baron. Papers on International Racial Problems, pp. 383-387, "The Respect which the White Race Owes to Other Races." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Hobson, J. A. Imperialism: A Study. 1906. A. Constable & Co., London.

PERIODICALS

"Americans and the Far East," by H. W. Mabie. *Outlook,* New York. Vol. CIV, 754-757, August 2, 1913.

"Are We Honest with Japan?" by J. D. Whelpley. *Century,* New York. Vol. LXXXVIII, 105-108, May, 1914.

"Freaks of Race Prejudice." *The Nation,* New York. Vol. LXXXIV, 168. 1907.

"Immigration from the Orient," by H. C. Nutting. *The Nation.* New York. Vol. XCVIII, 724, 725, June 18, 1914.

"Menaces to American Peace," by E. L. Fox. *McBrides,* New York. September, 1915, 86-90; October, 1915, 54.

"Our Honor and Shame with Japan," by W. E. Griffis. *North American Review,* New York. Vol. CC, 566-575, October, 1914.

3. *The Effects of the First Policy on Asiatic Peoples*

PERIODICALS

"Attitude of Japan Toward the United States," by A. Kinnosuke. *Independent,* New York. Vol. LXII, 1457-1459, 1907.

"Japan on the Land-Law Deadlock." *Literary Digest,* Vol. XLIX, 263, 264, August 15, 1914.

"Japanese Conceptions of America." *Sunset,* San Francisco. Vol. XXXIV, 346, February, 1915.

"Japanese in the United States and the Opinion in Tokyo." *Current Literature,* New York. Vol. XLIII, 483-488, 1907.

"Japanese Rights in America." *Literary Digest,* New York. Vol. LXIX, 48-50, July 11, 1914.

"Japanese Wrath at Our Immigration Bills." *Literary Digest,* New York. Vol. XLVIII, 252, February 7, 1914.

"Snarl of Waking Asia." *Everybody's,* New York. Vol. XXXII, 587-600, May, 1915.

"Yellow First," by Ackmed Abdullah. *Sunset,* San Francisco. January, 1915.

"Yellow Pity for White Prejudice." *Literary Digest,* New York. Vol. XLIV, 525, 1912.

4. *A Critical Study of Alleged "Yellow Peril"*

PAMPHLETS

Ladd, George Trumbull. "America and Japan." American Association for International Conciliation, New York.
Low, Seth. "The East and the West." American Association for International Conciliation, New York.

PERIODICALS

"American Naturalization of the Japanese," by J. H. Wigmore. *American Law Review*, Saint Louis. Vol. XXVIII, 818-837, 1904.
"American-Japanese Discussions Relating to the Land Tenure Law of California." *American Journal of International Law*, New York. Vol. VIII, 571-578, July, 1914.
"Americanizing the Japanese," by W. S. Harwood. *World To-Day*. Vol. IX, 1286-1292, December 19, 1905.
"California and Japan." *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXXIV, 1053, 1115, 1116, May 8, 22, 1913.
"California and Japan," by F. G. Peabody. *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CIV, 758, 759, August 2, 1913.
"California and the Japanese." *Outlook*, New York. Vol. CIX, 249, 250, February 3, 1915.
"California and the Japanese." *Review of Reviews*, New York. Vol. XXXIX, 278-280, 1909.
"California and the Japanese," by H. A. Millis. *Survey*, New York. Vol. XXX, 332-336, June 7, 1913.
"California and the Japanese," by Lincoln Stephens. *Collier's*, New York, March 25, 1916.
"Can We Assimilate the Japanese?" *Literary Digest*, New York. Vol. XLVII, 165, 166, August 2, 1913.
"Democracy and Race Friction." *American Economic Review*, Vol. IV, 936-938, December, 1914.
"History of the Movement," by J. Foord. *Outlook*, New York. Vol. LXXXVI, 101-105, 1907.
"Japan and the United States," by J. D. Whelpley. *Fortnightly Review*. Vol. CI, 885-892, May, 1914.
"Japan in California," by P. C. Macfarlane. *Collier's*, New York. June 6, 1913.
"Japanese as American Citizens." *Chautauquan*, Chautauqua, N. Y. Vol. XLII, 392-394, 1906.
"Japanese Exclusion," by David Starr Jordan. *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXI, 1425, 1426, December 13, 1906.
"Japanese Exclusion," by David Starr Jordan. *Independent*, New York. Vol. LXXIV, 978, May 1, 1913.
"Japanese in California," by Chester H. Rowell. *World's Work*, New York, June, 1913.

"Japanese Question," by John Mahan. *American Law Review,* Saint Louis, Mo. Vol. XLVIII, 698-713, September, 1914.
"Relations of Japan and the United States," by David Starr Jordan. *Popular Science Monthly,* New York. Vol. LXXX, 151-157, February, 1912.
"Social Assimilation: America and China," by C. R. Henderson. *American Journal of Sociology,* Chicago. Vol. XIX, 640-648, March, 1914.
"White and Yellow in California," by M. V. Woehlke. *Outlook,* New York, May 10, 1913.

CHAPTER III

1. *World Segregation of the White and Yellow Races*

BOOKS

Gulick, S. L. The Fight for Peace. 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Gulick, S. L. The American-Japanese Problem. 1913. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

PAMPHLETS

Myers, Charles S. Papers on Inter-Racial Problems, pp. 73-78, "On the Permanence of Racial Mental Differences." 1911. World's Peace Foundation, Boston.
Sugi, Giuseppe. Papers on Inter-Racial Problems, pp. 67-72. "Differences in Customs and Morals and Their Resistance to Rapid Change." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.

PERIODICALS

"Asiatic Emigration: A World Question," by S. N. Singh. *Living Age,* Boston. Vol. CCLXXXII, 387-393, August 15, 1914.
"Races Cannot Mingle." *North American Review,* New York. Vol. CLXXXIII, 1201-1203, 1906.
"World's Most Menacing Problem." *Collier's,* New York. May 31, 1913.

CHAPTER IV

1. *The New Internationalism*

BOOKS

Lynch, Frederick. What Makes a Great Nation? F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Mackenzie, J. S. Papers on Inter-Racial Problems, pp. 433-438, Ethical Teaching in Schools with Regard to Races." 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.

PERIODICALS

"Christianity and Internationalism," by K. Kaneko. *Biblical World,* Chicago. Vol. XLV, 361, 362, June, 1915.
"Our Nation's Duty to Japan," by D. Scudder. *The Friend,* Honolulu, June, 1913.

General

Abbott, James Francis. Japanese Expansion and American Policies, 1916. Macmillan Co., New York.

Aliens, Protection of, reports of Committee of Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, viz:

"Treaty Obligations and Protection of Aliens," by George G. Wilson, p. 189, Proceedings of 1913.

"Federal Protection of Aliens in the United States," by William H. Short, p. 74, Proceedings of 1914.

"Protection by the United States of the Rights of Aliens," by Simeon E. Baldwin, p. 148, Proceedings of 1915.

"Chinese and Japanese in America." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. No. 114, September, 1909.

Aubert, L. Americains et Japonais. 1908. Colin, Paris.

Bell, H. T. M. and Woodhead, H. G. M. China Year **Book** Since 1912. George Routledge & Sons, London.

Blakeslee, George H. "China and the Far East." Clark University Conference, 1910. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

Blakeslee, George H. "Japan and Japanese-American Relations." Clark University Conference, 1912. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York.

Bryce, James. The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind. 1902. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

"Report on the Japanese in California." Biennial Reports, 1913. Bureau of Labor, Sacramento.

Coman, P. Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands. 1903. Macmillan Co., New York.

Coolidge, Archibald C. The United States as a World Power. 1912. Macmillan Co., New York.

Coolidge, M. R. Chinese Immigration. 1909. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Collier, Hiram Price. The West in the East. 1911. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

De Forest, John H. "The Truth About Japan." World Peace Foundation, Boston. 1912.

Eliot, Charles W. "Japanese Characteristics." 1913. American Association for International Conciliation, New York.

Eliot, Charles W. "Some Roads Toward Peace." 1912. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington.

Finot, Jean. Race Prejudice. 1906. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

Foster, John W. American Diplomacy in the Orient. 1903. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Franklin, F. G. "The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States." American Historical Reports, Washington. Vol. I, 299-317.

Graham, John W. Evolution and Empire. 1912. Headley Bros., London.
Grose, H. B. Aliens or Americans? 1906. Missionary Education Movement, New York.
Gulick, Sidney L. The American-Japanese Problem. 1914. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
Gulick, Sidney L. The Fight for Peace. 1915. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Gulick, Sidney L. The White Peril in the Far East. 1905. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Hall, P. F. Immigration; and Its Effect upon the United States. 1906. Henry Holt & Co., New York.
Hobson, J. A. Imperialism: A Study. 1905. Constable & Co., London.
Hourwich, I. A. Immigration and Labor. 1912. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
Hulbert, Homer B. The Passing of Korea. 1906. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
Immigration Laws of the United States, "Revised Federal Statutes." Washington.
Ichihashi, Y. Japanese Immigration. 1915. Marshall Press, San Francisco.
Jenks, Jeremiah, and Lauck, W. J. The Immigration Problem. 1912. Funk & Wagnalls, New York.
Jordan, David Starr. War and Waste. 1913. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
Kawakami, Kiyoshi K. American-Japanese Relations. 1912. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Kawakami, Kiyoshi K. Asia at the Door. 1914. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Lea, Homer. The Valor of Ignorance. 1909. Harper & Bros., New York.
Martin, W. A. P. The Awakening of China. 1907. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
Masaoka, Naoichi. Japan's Message to America. 1915. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York.
Millard, Thomas F. America and the Far Eastern Question. 1909. Moffatt, Yard & Co., New York.
Millard, Thomas F. The New Far East. 1906. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
Millis, H. A. The Japanese Problem in the United States. 1915. Macmillan Co., New York.
Nitobe, I. The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan. 1891. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.
Okuma, Count, et al. Fifty Years of New Japan. 1909. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.
Porter, Robert P. The Full Recognition of Japan. 1911. Henry Frowde, London.

Ray, Mary Katherine. The Immigration Problem. 1909. Wisconsin Free Library Commission, Madison.
Reinsch, Paul S Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East. 1911. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
Reinsch, Paul S. World Politics as Influenced by the Oriental Situation. 1900. Macmillan Co., New York.
Roberts, P. The Immigrant Races in North America. 1910. Association Press, New York.
Roosevelt, T. Fifth Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1905. In James D. Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. X, 7386. 1910. Bureau of National Literature and Art, Washington.
Royce, J. Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems. 1908. Macmillan Co., New York.
Russell, Lindsay. America to Japan. 1915. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
Scherer, J. A. B. The Japanese Crisis. 1916. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York.
Shriver, William P. Immigrant Forces. 1913. Missionary Education Movement, New York.
Smith, Richmond Mayo. Emigration and Immigration. 1908. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
Spiller, G. Inter-Racial Problems. First Universal Races Congress, London, 1911. World Peace Foundation, Boston.
Steiner, E. A. On the Trail of the Immigrant. 1906. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Steiner, E. A. The Immigrant Tide. 1913. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Steiner, E. A. From Alien to Citizen. 1914. F. H. Revell Co., New York.
Streightoff, F. H. The Standard of Living Among the Industrial People of America. 1911. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
Taft, William H. The United States and Peace. 1914. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
Uyehara, G. E. The Political Development of Japan. 1910. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.
Walker, F. A. Discussions in Economics and Statistics. 1899. Henry Holt & Co., New York.
Weale, B. L. Putnam. The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia. 1908. Macmillan Co., New York.
Weale, B. L. Putnam. The Conflict of Color. 1910. Macmillan Co., New York.

For articles dealing with these subjects, attention is called to the Journal of Race Development, published by Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, and edited by George H. Blakeslee and G. Stanley Hall.

APPENDIX VII

THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE NEW ORIENTAL POLICY

To the Commission on Relations with Japan of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

DEAR BRETHREN:

In response to the invitation from the Committee on International Relations of the California State Federation of Churches, acceptance of which invitation you recommended, I went to the Pacific Coast July, 1915, and remained there until the middle of December. I now take pleasure in presenting you herewith the report in brief outlines of what was done.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) SIDNEY L. GULICK.

March 15, 1916.
New York City.

FOREWORD

Shortly after the return from Japan (March 30, 1915) of Dr. Shailer Mathews and the writer, the Federal Council Christian embassy to that land, we were invited by the Commission on International Relations of the California State Federation of Churches to undertake in California a campaign of education on the Oriental problem. Dr. Mathews, unfortunately, was unable to comply. The writer, how-

---

NOTE.—Immediately following the above letter of transmission, the first place in the pamphlet was given to a statement by the president and general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and to two resolutions by the Commission on Relations with Japan and by the administrative committee of the Federal Council, which are here omitted as they have already been given toward the close of the report of the commission (see pages 38-40).

ever, responding to the invitation and in compliance with your own recommendation to that effect, visited nearly all of the important centers, not only preaching in the churches, but also addressing important groups of business men, women's clubs and ministerial gatherings, and meeting not a few of the leaders of organized labor.

In California the addresses delivered numbered ninety-four all told, while in Oregon and Washington they numbered seventy-four. Although I made San Francisco my headquarters, three trips were made to Los Angeles and San Diego, and two to Seattle and the state of Washington. The final trip through Oregon and Washington occupied three weeks, closing December 14 at Walla Walla.

THE VISIT TO CALIFORNIA OF LABOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM JAPAN

On July 6, Messrs. Suzuki and Yoshimatsu landed in San Francisco. They came representing, as fraternal delegates, the laborers of Japan. While in Japan in February, the writer had several conferences with representatives of organized labor and with others, whereby the coming of these delegates was finally arranged. Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the California State Federation of Labor, to whom the initial suggestion for their coming is to be credited, rendered valuable aid in making their visit to California a success. I met them upon their arrival and introduced them to Mr. Scharrenberg. After satisfying himself as to their credentials and character, he introduced them to representatives of organized labor and secured for them seats as fraternal delegates in the annual meeting at Santa Rosa of the California State Federation of Labor. Mr. Suzuki's addresses at that annual meeting, as well as before various Central Labor Councils of cities in California, and especially before the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor (San Francisco, November 8-20) won him many friends and overcame no little suspicion and opposition.

The friendly reception accorded to the Japanese delegates is not, however, to be interpreted as in any way indicating a lessening of opposition to Japanese immigration on the part of organized labor. It indicates rather a clearing up of the issue, helping to remove its race character and making it more evidently an economic problem. This indeed was the clear utterance of many of the addresses made by representatives of organized labor introducing the "brother from Japan."

Mr. Suzuki himself was careful to make clear that his visit had nothing to do with the immigration question. He came "in order to

learn the best methods of organized labor in America." He appealed to labor in the United States for sympathy and aid for the labor movement in Japan. His assertion of the identity of labor's problems and interests in Japan and America elicited repeated applause.

The San Francisco *Labor Clarion* has recently published (February, 1916) correspondence that took place last October between Senator James D. Phelan of California and Secretary Paul Scharrenberg of the California State Federation of Labor. Senator Phelan criticized the reception accorded the Japanese delegates by the California Federation of Labor.

"I wish" he writes, "to respectfully call attention to the fact that anything which weakens the hands of your representatives in Washington weakens the cause in which we are all concerned—the prevention of the displacement of the white population of California by the Japanese. . . . If . . . it may appear that our workingmen are not sincere in their opposition and have been won over to the 'brotherhood of man' sentimentality skilfully preached by Japanese proponents and carried on in various forms by the Japanese propaganda in this country, then Washington may be confronted with the serious problem which for the time being is held in abeyance by the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' existing between the United States and Japan."

To this letter Secretary Scharrenberg promptly replied showing that the Japanese delegates had been seated in the state convention only after due examination of their purposes and credentials. He states that the Japanese delegates "came to America to learn something about our working-class movement, our methods of organization, and, if possible, to use the knowledge thus acquired to improve the conditions of working people in Japan." They were accordingly "received and extended every courtesy by the labor organizations of California. . . . It is entirely clear that the kindness and courtesy toward our visitors should not be construed to mean a weakening in labor's demand for the exclusion of all Asiatic laborers from our shores."

THE MAIN EMPHASIS

The major part of my time, however, from July to December, was consumed in efforts to explain to individuals and to groups the nature of the policy and program by which the pending problem between the United States and Japan may be solved.

In general the policy seeks to provide for protection for the Pacific Coast states from swamping or even large Asiatic immigration,

which protection they justly demand, and also to provide for Japan's earnest plea that there shall be no discriminating and humiliating race legislation.[1]

In addition to describing in my addresses, so far as the time limitations allowed, the main feature of the proposed policy, I usually left with those interested, copies of two pamphlets entitled "Asia's Appeal to America" and "The American-Japanese Problem."

So far as I was able to judge, all the audiences to which the above policy and program were presented with any degree of fulness were favorably impressed. No audience, however, was asked to give on the spot any expression of its judgment.

Since, however, it is needful that leaders of national life should give the policy and program serious consideration, from the middle of October and onward I sought by letter and personal conversation to secure definite expressions of opinion. This effort brought a goodly number of personal letters and resolutions from those who may well be regarded as representatives of the responsible citizenship of the Pacific Coast.

---

[1]The full statement of this proposal is given in *The American-Japanese Problem,* chapter XVII (Scribner's). A more recent statement is available in a pamphlet entitled "A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program" (105 East 22d Street, New York). In briefest terms the proposal is that all immigration should be restricted and that the principle of restriction should be proven capacity to enter wholesomely into our life. The law would read that the number of male aliens fourteen years of age and over to be admitted annually as immigrants from any race or people should be a definite per cent. (say five) of the sum of the American-born children of that people plus the naturalized citizens of the same people.

This principle would not restrict present immigration from North Europe; it would restrict it somewhat from South and East Europe; while the amount that would be admitted annually from Japan and China would be about 1,200 and 1,100 respectively, being less than is now admitted annually from those lands.

In addition, however, to restriction, provision should also be made for the rapid and wholesome incorporation into our life and institutions of those whom we do admit for permanent residence here. For this we need federal Bureaus of Registration and of Education; we should also adjust our laws whereby privileges of citizenship should be given to all who qualify, regardless of race. These provisions—the percentage method for numerical limitation of immigration and the giving of citizenship to all who qualify—would completely solve the American Asiatic problem, for it would thoroughly protect the Pacific Coast states from large immigration and it would also remove the differential race legislation which is so keenly resented by Japanese and Chinese.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS[1]

1. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

President of the University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

I have always looked to your plan of proportional immigration as involving the possibility of a fortunate solution for the much vexed question of Oriental immigration. It meets the main factors of the situation. Our objection to wholesale immigration is that the opposite shores of the Pacific Ocean, now that civilization has made its westward circuit of the globe, represent the most widely different economic standards in regard to living and the remuneration of toil. To allow these two opposite communities to mix with absolute freedom would mean that we should annul at a stroke the differentiations of centuries. Our objections to immigration are not racial, but industrial and economic. I cannot at this date and with this present light see why your plan should not work. It cancels out the violent and brittle features of absolute exclusion, and appeals to gradualness. Gradualness is what we want. We are only contending for reasonable time.

2. LEROY A. WRIGHT

Member of California State Senate (1906-1912), *San Diego, Cal.*

I have examined very carefully your plan of proportional immigration. I am pleased to say that in my opinion it contains the proper basis of settling a perplexing question which has in the past and may in the future vex our relations with foreign nations.

Whether the percentage suggested in your plan is the correct one, and whether it will have to be altered from time to time must be determined by the circumstances. The question of the rate, however, does not affect the principle. I am satisfied that you have arrived at the correct principle for a solution of the problem, and I sincerely trust that the men and women of this country who have time to think and the ability to think rightly on such questions, will cooperate with you to the fullest extent. Had your plan been adopted, there would have been no friction in 1907 and the years that followed, between the United States and Japan.

If I can be of any service to you in advancing the good work which you have undertaken, I beg to assure you that it will give me great pleasure.

3. WARREN OLNEY, JR.

Attorney and Counselor at Law, San Francisco, Cal.

Replying to your letter of yesterday I would say that it seems to me that your suggestion that this country should have a compre-

[1] In the chronological order of their receipt.

hensive immigration law, whereby all immigration should be limited to a definite per cent. (you suggest five) annually from each foreign country of those already naturalized from that country with American-born children, would go very far toward solving one of the difficult problems which confront this country. If our institutions are to be preserved, and the social and economic welfare of the great portion of our people is to be protected, we must Americanize the immigrants coming to us from foreign lands, Americanize them both so that they have an understanding and appreciation of our institutions and what free government means, and also so that their standards of living are as high as our own. We cannot do this if we are constantly to receive the large numbers which have heretofore come to us. Absolute exclusion is out of the question. We cannot solve the problem by discriminating, allowing free immigration from one country and not from another. We have already tried that in a small degree with the Chinese and Japanese, and it has brought about ill feeling and danger of racial conflict. It is not practicable to go further along this line and pass laws discriminating between immigrants from the various parts of Europe. The measure suggested by you seems to meet the situation. It puts a limit on the amount of immigration, so that the numbers coming in yearly will not be too great to prevent their being Americanized. It will not be discriminatory in an obnoxious way as between the immigrants from different countries. On the other hand it will permit the larger number of immigrants to come from those countries from which we have already drawn the bulk of our people and whose peoples most readily adapt themselves to our institutions and our standards of living.

The further suggestions which you make as to the creation of a bureau of registration, the creation of a bureau of education, etc., are in the nature of details for more effectively carrying on the work of Americanizing the immigrants when they are once here. They seem to me good. Certainly there is need of something more being done in this direction than is being done at present. But after all, these are details. The main point in your plan is that of limiting immigration, but not absolutely prohibiting it, and of doing so in a manner which, without discrimination, will yet give us the class of immigrants which we desire and which we can best amalgamate with our own people. It seems to me that your suggestion will accomplish this.

4. JESSE F. MILLSPAUGH

President of the California State Normal School, Los Angeles, Cal.

At a meeting of the faculty of this school, held on Wednesday,

the members of that committee considered your claim that immigrant Asiatics should be entitled to the same legal privileges as immigrants of other foreign nations, to be justified, and therefore held it proper to permit Asiatics both to hold land and become citizens of the United States.

I think by devoting your efforts to secure civic and political equality for admitted aliens of all nations, you will prepare the way for a better immigration in this country. As we agree to the proposition that our objection to Asiatics is founded on economic reasons alone, it is evident that only by the removal of these economic objections by the institution of economic remedies, will it be possible to adopt a policy permitting Asiatics to be admitted on the same terms as aliens of other nations. Economic competition is also responsible for endeavors to further restrict European immigration.

8. Rev. Edward L. Parsons

Rector St. Mark's Church, Berkeley, Cal.

It gives me great pleasure to respond to your letter of the 23d. Some months ago I read one of the pamphlets which has just come to me, containing your admirable discussion of the country's immigration problem. I have now been over the matter again.

Many of us have been faced for a long time with a difficult problem in this whole matter. Long residence in California has enabled us to enter into the California feeling in regard to Asiatic immigration. We have understood and sympathized with the industrial and social grounds for action which has nevertheless seemed to be in conflict with the dictates of the nobler Christian ideals of international relationship. We have been searching about for some practical solution of the problem thus created, and I for one felt that such had been suggested in principle when I first read your plan of percentage limitation of immigration. So far as I can see, it is worth while and workable. It should meet the serious needs of the nation as a whole as well as the more special needs of the Pacific Coast, and it should accomplish these ends while leaving open to us the cultivation of closer relations with the other nations of the world, whatever their race or social condition.

9. W. M. Alexander

Shipping and Commission Merchant, San Francisco and Honolulu.

Briefly, my first feeling, when I heard of your plan of proportional immigration, was that the "nail had been struck on the head." Your plan meets the problem of limiting Oriental immigration to this country

October 20, by unanimous vote, the following communication was ordered addressed to you:

"The students and faculty of this school on Monday last heard your address on 'The New Orient and America's New Oriental Policy' with deepest interest and appreciation. The presentation by you of the historical background of present social and political conditions in the East was most illuminating and instructive and furnished a sound basis for the constructive program which you so convincingly advocate.

"As a body of teachers, we wish to express our interest in your proposal regarding immigration, and to the extent that we have had opportunity to consider it and understand it, we as cordially declare our approval of the general policy which you urge as productive of better international feeling and as promising a larger measure of international justice, without compromise of our own national or local interests."

5. C. F. MICHAELS

Wholesale Druggist, San Francisco, Cal,

"There can be no doubt but what our immigration laws need a general revision, not only that the immigration itself may be properly restricted, but that some control over the immigrant before he becomes a citizen may be exercised. The suggestions along the lines offered by you are extremely interesting, and they seem to me to offer a basis for the working out of laws which would solve the problem and at the same time be equitable to all foreign nations."

6. F. J. KOSTER

President California Barrel Company, San Francisco, Cal.

As a result of the several opportunities I have had of hearing you upon the subject, and particularly after hearing Baron Shibusawa, I am convinced that your plan is feasible.

7. THEODORE JOHNSON

Secretary Law and Legislative Committee of the San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, Cal.

Regretting my inability to concur in all the proposals you advance for the settling of the questions between the American government and the nations of Asia, I desire to take advantage of your request to counsel and aid you in your work for improving the relations between Japan and the United States.

While your proposals were before the legislative committee of the Labor Council, I was impressed by the fact that nearly all

in a way that decreases the amount of Oriental immigration to a minimum, and at the same time does not do any injury to the sensitive feelings of our neighbors across the Pacific.

A short time ago I was fearful of serious misunderstandings arising on account of the East Indians coming to the Pacific Coast. Your plan would meet this situation most successfully. Of course, I view all these questions more or less from the standpoint of one interested in the Hawaiian Islands, and it would seem to me that while your plan solves the problem of immigration as regards the mainland of our country, it does not fit Hawaii, and some special legislation will be necessary as regards this outpost in the Pacific.

I thoroughly agree with you that eligibility to American citizenship should be based upon personal qualifications; if we are going to build up a nation with the right kind of people, and become such a melting-pot as Mr. Zangwill gives us a vision of in his strong play, then I think we have got to bring ourselves to feel the fact that race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification to American citizenship. However, in our present state of growth, I am very doubtful if such a situation could be brought about for many years to come, possibly not in our day and generation, and, therefore, I feel that the "strong pedal" should be put on your proposition of proportional immigration.

10. JAMES W. MULLEN

Editor Labor Clarion, *San Francisco, Cal.*

I have received your letter of October 23 and note your request. In reply permit me to say that, while I am personally in accord with the principles involved in your immigration proposals, I have not been able to convince the labor movement of this city of the advisability of altering our present scheme of things and adopting some such plan as you propose. You can, therefore, understand that while I can continue agitations within the labor movement for a change in policy, in my official capacity I am bound by the will of the majority and cannot give official approval to your plan.

11. GEORGE M. STRATTON

Professor of Psychology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

May I express my high appreciation of your effort to improve the relations between America and the Orient. These relations must not be allowed merely to drift, nor can we throw upon the countries across the Pacific the sole responsibility for seeing that all is well.

The sources of irritation, and indeed of grave danger, would, I believe, be greatly lessened if the interests of all aliens in our country

were placed under the exclusive care of the federal government. The honor and the peace of the entire nation should not, as at present, be at the mercy of local interest and local emotion. Furthermore, a uniform method of controlling immigration is highly desirable, and your own plan seems to me to offer a safe practical way of dealing with this very difficult problem.

As to the naturalization of foreigners; with a suitable control of immigration, I can see nothing but wisdom in bestowing citizenship upon all those who will prepare themselves to receive it. This privilege should be bestowed or withheld solely by reason of personal qualities, and never merely by reason of race. Otherwise we give endless occasion for injustice and resentment, and international friction is needlessly increased.

12. FRANCIS B. LOOMIS
Editor Oakland Tribune, *Oakland, Cal.*

I have always been interested in your plan of proportional immigration. It seems to me that if it can be properly worked out, it contains a very hopeful possibility for settlement of the immigration question, so far as it relates to the Orient. I think it should have very careful consideration. I think no one can object to the fundamental principle providing for immigration without discrimination; and it makes ample provision for gradual assimilation of those who come to this country from abroad to take up their residence here. I think discussion ought to be limited to issues involved in this point for the present at least.

The time is not distant when our immigration laws will have to be considerably revised, and I hope when the revision takes place your suggestion will have been thoroughly presented to the thinking people of this country.

13. ROBERT DOLLAR
President the Robert Dollar Company, San Francisco, Cal.

I have carefully read the two pamphlets and find they are in accord with the views that I have long held on the subject of fair treatment to Chinese and Japanese. There is no question in my mind that if we continue our adverse legislation to the Japanese, we are sure to get into a war that will be disastrous to both nations. Americans must be taught that Japanese in this country must be treated as our treaty calls for: the "most favored nation" clause. Trouble is ahead if we don't.

With the Chinese it is different; they have neither an army or navy, but as soon as they get both we will hear from them also.

In the meantime, we have everything to gain and nothing to lose by dealing honorably and justly by both nations.

14. C. A. KOFOID

Professor in the Department of Zoology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

The proposal to regulate the influx of alien peoples from all nations impartially on the basis of proportional immigration recommends itself because of its impartiality, thus doing away with discrimination on account of race or nationality, because of its simplicity, which will facilitate its operation, and because of its practicality. It will make possible those industrial, economic, social, and biological adjustments of peoples of widely different origin, history, and ideals which must be made, and can only be made gradually, if we are to save the American civilization from being rent asunder. The incorporation of other peoples into our body politic with adequate time for their assimilation will thus be facilitated. The ease and cheapness of transportation to-day and the rapidity and pervasiveness of our modern systems for the transfer of information have doomed the policy of isolation, therefore we must meet this problem of the invasion by other peoples by just and wise legislation. Proportional immigration is a move in this direction.

The second proposal for full citizenship for all who qualify is one involving both international and domestic policies to such an extent as to require fuller statement for its proper consideration. Nationalism has brought with it the curse of militarism of our age. A wider basis for a citizenship that will foster friendships with other peoples without weakening our own unity and efficiency is desirable but political action in this direction should be taken with caution, till some adequate scientific study can be made of the results of racial admixture on the next generation.

15. GEORGE I. COCHRAN

President Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co., Los Angeles, Cal.

Since your call the other day I have read with much interest the "Addresses on the American-Japanese Problem" which you left with me, and I wish to say that after reading them over and reflecting upon them, I am very much in favor of the method you suggest for solving this problem.

The Japanese question is full of interest to the United States, and especially to the people on this coast, and the sooner it can be solved the better it will be for all of us. The Japanese nation has become a world-wide power, and in these days of speedy communication, is our

nearest neighbor, and it is essentially necessary to our well-being, as well as to our prosperity, to live on good terms with them. I spent some five years in Japan, and I know something of the Japanese and have a sincere admiration for their intelligence and many good qualities, and I see no reason why our relations with them should not be of the best.

While I am strongly in favor of maintaining California for our own people, yet I feel that this object can be attained better under your plan than under any other I have yet heard of. On the other hand, I feel that a limited number of Japanese citizens living in California would be of material benefit to the agricultural and the other interests of our state. One feature of your plan which appeals to me very strongly is the feature of regulation. Foreigners coming to this country with the idea of becoming citizens would, as I understand it, be registered immediately on their arrival and would be under federal supervision during the five probationary years, and this would be conducive to their good behavior and also enable the country to get rid of undesirable citizens.

16. Rev. F. L. Goodspeed

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Oakland, Cal.

I give hearty endorsement to your proposals in regard to immigration, and I do so for three reasons: (1) for the safety of our country; (2) in justice to the people of all nations; and (3) to promote the peace of the world.

17. Francis M. Larkin

Editor California Christian Advocate, *San Francisco, Cal.*

I am in receipt of your letter of recent date in reference to your proposal for the limitation of immigration. I take very great pleasure in endorsing the statement as presented by you. I am enclosing a copy of an editorial printed in the *California Christian Advocate* some time ago, any part of which you are at liberty to use.

18. Rev. C. S. Nash

President of the Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal.

I have previously considered your proposals sufficiently to decide that I heartily endorse them. I therefore am interested to do what you ask, add my signature to those of Bishop Hughes, Dr. Horace Day, and others.

19. DAVID P. BARROWS

Dean of the Faculties, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

I have given long and careful attention to your proposal that the United States immigration laws be so amended as to admit into the United States in any one year and from any one country only a small percentage of the people from that country who are already naturalized citizens of the United States.

I believe your formula is a good one and that the considerations upon which it rests are sound and safe. As a nation I believe we are still appreciative of the strength that comes to us by immigration, but it is essential that these immigrants that come from so many countries and speak so many different languages should be thoroughly assimilated and incorporated into our body politic, if they are to remain as permanent dwellers among us. Many things indicate, I believe, that we have not been assimilating foreign elements in recent years as successfully as was formerly the case. We are probably past the point of saturation. Now obviously, the most important force for the rapid introduction into American society and for the inculcation of the national spirit must be, for any immigrant people, that body of folk of the same race and tongue who are already citizens of this country. The absence of such a citizenship leaves any foreign people entering this country without the proper leaven to transform them into American citizens.

I believe that your suggestion would be a particularly fortunate solution of the problem of immigration from Oriental countries where the process of assimilation is more difficult owing to racial differences. I should wish to see it applied here, and so as to allow the admission into this country annually of that small number of Chinese and Japanese who would represent a low fraction of the portion of these peoples who are already citizens of the United States. This would mean modifying our naturalization laws so as to make it possible for Japanese to become naturalized. (My own wish would be to see naturalization made possible at the same time for Filipinos.) I am in favor of this from the conviction that the number of Japanese who have permanently settled here and who would desire to become citizens of this country would be so small as in no way to interfere with American labor, would make good citizens, and prove a valuable help in improving the relations between ourselves and the empire of Japan. So would a body of Filipinos who are naturalized American citizens be of assistance to us in the delicate problem of continuing our relations with the Filipino people. My own observation makes me

believe that a resident among us from another country is infinitely more valable to us as a citizen than as an alien.

20. C. H. BENTLY

President California Fruit Canneries Association, San Francisco, Cal.

It so happens that I am a member of a special Committee on Japanese Relations, a committee appointed by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, and, as you know, this committee has recommended to the directors of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce that your plan be endorsed as a movement in the right direction.

Your plan seems the most logical and effective that has come to my attention, as it seems to me that the limitation of immigration without discrimination might well be based on a percentage basis of those from that land already naturalized, together with their American-born children.

It seems wise that an annual registration fee should be levied on all aliens residents in America until they become citizens.

The establishment of a federal bureau for the education of aliens in the English language, and in the essentials of citizenship seems necessary, not only for the purpose of education and naturalization of aliens, but to avoid problems that have arisen in our schools where our children of tender years are more or less hindered in classes which contain aliens of mature years, and requiring somewhat different course of instruction.

With the limitation placed on immigration, it would seem to be wise to establish naturalization laws, compelling a suitable course of education for citizenship, with the intent of giving this high privilege to all who qualify, regardless of their race.

21. REV. JOSIAH SIBLEY

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, Cal.

I am much interested in your proposed suggestion with reference to limiting the foreign immigration to the United States. Manifestly our country has reached the place where there must be intelligent dealing with this problem. While having a great admiration for the unusual number of useful men and women who have come to this country from the various older countries, I think that beyond a doubt we cannot long hope to assimilate the great masses who have been coming to us each year for the past decade. It is very difficult to get any basis of adjustment that is not arbitrary.

I think the suggestion of a certain proportion only each year, relative to the number already in this country from various foreign nations, is the practical way of getting at the matter.

22. Rev. Raymond C. Brooks

Pastor First Congregational Church, Berkeley, Cal.

Your proposal to limit all immigration on a percentage basis, dealing equally with all races in the matter of admission, education and naturalization, seemed to me sound when I first heard you set it out, and further thought about it confirms that first judgment. I am very glad to sign the endorsement enclosed.

23. Melvin A. Brannon

President of the University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

I thank you kindly for the papers which you have sent to me, "A Call for Comprehensive Immigration Legislation," "The American-Japanese Problem," and "Asia's Appeal to America." I have read these with much interest, and am glad to say to you that your outline appeals to me thoroughly. You are happily prepared to present this complex question in its many relations in a lucid and convincing fashion. I hope that you will be able to secure legislation in accordance with the plans outlined.

24. Stephen B. L. Penrose

President of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.

I listened with great interest to your presentation of your plan for comprehensive immigration legislation, and had the further advantage of talking the matter over with you in detail. I was impressed by the practicability of the plan and by its fitness to solve the problem of Asiatic immigration in a way that would be satisfactory, I believe, to the people of the Pacific Coast as well as to Asiatic nations across the sea. Your plan is simple in its process and workable as to practise. It will remove the question of immigration from the heated field of political discussion and will transfer it to a plane of enlightened and dispassionate inquiry. Because it promises to solve the problem of Asiatic immigration for the western coast, I am especially anxious that it may be adopted by Congress and become the working plan of the United States. Congratulating you upon your clear and statesmanlike proposal, I am, with high regards . . ."

25. The following letter was addressed to one of the California representatives in Congress by an editorial writer on the staff of one of the important dailies of San Francisco. It seems better to give the name neither of the sender nor of the person to whom the letter was sent. Special permission was granted for its publication here.

"As one of your constituents, I wish to protest against statements upon the Japanese question, especially in connection with the subject

of armaments, which have been credited to you. I am convinced that there is a large and serious-minded group in this state who do not agree with your opinions as they have lately been set forth, nor with the somewhat unstatesmanlike phraseology in which they were expressed. I do not think that the Japanese problem on this coast is any more serious than the yellow newspaper, or the politician problem. California labor unions, as you probably know, have shown willingness to discuss the situation with representatives of Japanese labor, and have given a willing hearing to such suggestions as those of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick. The controversy is temporarily at least on a reasonable basis.

"Senators and Congressmen ought to be at least as reasonable. Probably you are familiar with Dr. Gulick's suggestion. He believes in limiting all immigration, without regard to race, to a fixed annual percentage of members of each nationality or language group already domiciled in the country. If the percentage taken were five per cent., Dr. Gulick's plan would actually reduce the number of Japanese now legally admitted each year. The other half of his plan is that all immigrants lawfully admitted should be given equal rights to become citizens, to hold land, etc. This would eliminate every just cause of irritation which the Japanese have against us, and the thin stream of Oriental immigration which would result would not be a serious problem. I do not believe that Californians are so bigoted on this point as not to accept a solution so ready and so fair.

"In *The World's Highway,* page 272, Normal Angell says, after discussing the possibility of war between this country and Japan:

> "'On the morrow of most wars the discovery is made that if the nations had taken as much trouble with policy before the war began as they are obliged to take when it is over, it need never have taken place at all.'"

"Won't you use your influence to formulate a policy now which will prevent friction with Japan? Won't you feel happier about your career in years to come if you can feel that you helped to prevent a useless war instead of helping to cause one?"

26. ENOCH A. BRYAN

Former President of the State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.

In reply to yours of February 8, I have read with much interest the circular entitled, "A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program." Your novel suggestion at the time of your visit to this college has interested me much, and while you suggest a purely conventional or assumed basis, yet it appears to possess real merit. Our

own state treats all aliens alike in the matter of ownership of real estate—that is, it forbids it. That, I think, is well, and Japan has not found the fault with us that she has with California. Nevertheless, Europeans have the advantage of a possible citizenship which is practically impossible in the case of the Orientals. Far more important, to my mind, than the avoidance of economic competition on the Pacific Coast, is the avoidance of laying the foundation of a racial problem. As a people we are friendly to the Orientals. We wish to cultivate this spirit not chiefly for economic gain, but because such a spirit is helpful to all things which make national life worth while. But everywhere in all times, the racial problems have been the basis of many evils to both or all races and we wish by every means to avoid the possibility of an Oriental race problem on this coast—and that for the sake of the alien race as well as our own. Nevertheless, the small fraction of prepared citizens from the Orient suggested by your method, on the face of it would appear to help us to avoid rather than establish a racial problem. You may have hit the right plan. Certainly many of your suggestions are good.

RESOLUTIONS OF ENDORSEMENT

Endorsement of the proposal for comprehensive immigration legislation, dealing equally with all races, has been expressed also in various resolutions.

A. AN ENDORSEMENT USED CHIEFLY IN CALIFORNIA:

In view of the serious problems of unemployment and industrial unrest so wide-spread throughout the United States, which problems will unquestionably become still more serious after the European war is concluded, unless wisely and promptly provided for by Congressional legislation;

And in view of the need of removing from our laws such differential treatment of Asiatics as is regarded by them as humiliating, providing in this way for the maintenance of friendship between America and the nations of Japan and China;

We, the undersigned, after consideration of Dr. Gulick's proposals, herewith endorse their fundamental principles which provide for—

1. The limitation of immigration from every land on a percentage basis of those from that land already naturalized, together with their American-born children;

2. The registration of all aliens resident in America, with the payment of an annual registration fee until they become citizens;

3. The establishment of a federal bureau for the education of aliens in the English language and in the essentials of citizenship;

4. Such changes in our naturalization laws, that citizenship may be given to those only who qualify by passing through the required course of education, and conversely, that all who qualify shall be naturalized, regardless of their race.

We commend the above proposals to our fellow-citizens of California and to our representatives in Congress.

These resolutions were signed by the following representative citizens of California, Oregon, and Washington.

William Horace Day, First Congregational Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

James W. Francis, First Baptist Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

Matt L. Hughes, First M. E. Church, Pasadena, Cal.

George F. Bovard, President University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

Robert Freeman, Pasadena Presbyterian Church, Pasadena, Cal.

Daniel F. Fox, First Congregational Church, Pasadena, Cal.

Warren H. Landon, President San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Francisco, Cal.

John Balcom Shaw (formerly of Pasadena, Cal.).

Edwin H. Hughes, Bishop M. E. Church, San Francisco, Cal.

H. H. Bell, Chairman Committee of One Hundred, San Francisco, Cal.

Herbert B. Johnson, Superintendent Oriental Mission, M. E. Church, San Francisco, Cal.

F. L. Goodspeed, First Presbyterian Church, Oakland, Cal.

C. S. Nash, President Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal.

E. L. Butler, 816 Mission Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Edward Berwick, Pacific Grove, Cal.

Raymond C. Brooks, First Congregational Church, Berkeley, Cal.

W. H. Hollis, Senator, Twenty-fourth District, Ore.

C. J. Bushnell, President Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.

J. S. Bishop, M.D., Forest Grove, Ore.

H. L. Bates, Professor in Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.

R. E. Dunlop, Pastor M. E. Church, Forest Grove, Ore.

O. H. Holmes, Pastor Congregational Church, Forest Grove, Ore.

The Woman's Home Missionary Union of the State of Washington.

B. An Endorsement Used in the State of Washington:

We, the undersigned, after consideration of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick's proposals in regard to immigration, whose fundamental principles provide for:

1. The limitation of immigration from every land on a percentage basis of those from that land already naturalized, together with their American born children;

2. The registration of all aliens resident in America, with the payment of an annual registration fee until they become citizens;

3. The establishment of a federal bureau for the education of aliens in the English language and in the essentials of citizenship;

4. Such changes in our naturalization laws, that citizenship may be given to those only who qualify by passing through the required course of education, and conversely, that all who qualify shall be naturalized, regardless of their race.

Hereby commend the above proposals to our fellow-citizens and to our legislators, for their careful study and earnest consideration.

(Signed)

FRANK DYER, Pastor First Congregational Church, Tacoma, Wash.
HARRY J. DUTTON, Tacoma, Wash.
C. D. SAVERY, Court Reporter, Tacoma, Wash.
W. W. SEYMOUR, Ex-Mayor, Tacoma, Wash.
JOHN B. KAISER, City Librarian, Tacoma, Wash.
SAMUEL B. STOCKING, Tacoma Representative of Alaska-Pacific S. S. Co., Tacoma, Wash.
JAMES A. DUNCAN, Secretary Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.
HULET M. WELLS, President Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.
E. B. AULT, Editor *Union Record*, Seattle, Wash.
IDA L. LEVI, Reading Clerk, Seattle, Wash.
GEORGE P. LISTMAN, Board of Control, Seattle, Wash.
O. F. DOZIER, Business Agent, Seattle, Wash.
GEORGE F. COTTERILL, Ex-Mayor, Seattle, Wash.
ALEXANDER MYERS, Committee on Immigration, Commercial Club, Seattle, Wash.
J. V. A. SMITH, Assistant Cashier, N. W. Trust and Life Deposit Co., Seattle, Wash.
REV. J. D. O. POWERS, Pastor Unitarian Church, Seattle, Wash.
E. F. BLAINE, (prominent business man), Seattle, Wash.
SIDNEY STRONG, Pastor Queen Anne Congregational Church, Seattle, Wash.
WILLIAM K. MCKIBBIN, Secretary Committee on Unemployment and Secretary Anti-Tuberculosis League, Seattle, Wash.
C. G. MORRISON, Executive Secretary, Municipal League, Seattle, Wash.
OTTO N. CASE, Secretary, Commercial Club, Seattle, Wash.

J. F. McCoy, Bellingham, Wash.
F. F. Nash, Bellingham, Wash.
J. C. McGregor, Bellingham, Wash.
J. M. Griffith, Bellingham, Wash.
J. N. Cone, Bellingham, Wash.
C. L. Linderman, Bellingham, Wash.
Warren Morse, Pastor First Congregational Church, Bellingham, Wash.
J. B. Kaylor, Bellingham, Wash.
L. C. Countryman (Merchant, Drygoods), Bellingham, Wash.
G. W. Nash, President State Normal School, Bellingham, Wash.
G. Thomas, Attorney (Brown, Peringer & Thomas), Bellingham, Wash.
F. B. Culver, Pastor Evangelical Association, Bellingham, Wash.
Everett M. Hill, Pastor First M. E. Church, Bellingham, Wash.

C. Resolution of the Ministerial Federation of Seattle, November 15, 1915.

We, the Ministerial Federation of Seattle, Washington, petition the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to adopt an immigration policy based on the just and equitable treatment of all races; and also to so amend the naturalization laws of the United States as to extend the privilege of naturalization to all aliens legally resident within the borders of the nation.

D. Faculty of the Washington State Normal School, Bellingham, Wash.

You may be interested to know that at a meeting of the faculty held yesterday afternoon, the faculty endorsed your proposal to limit immigration. I shall see that a copy of the resolution is mailed to our representatives in Congress. (The resolution is Resolution A, previously quoted.)

E. The Resolution Proposed by Mr. J. W. Mullen:

[A resolution of some length was introduced by Mr. James W. Mullen into the San Francisco Labor Council (September 3, 1915), and was printed in full in the *Labor Clarion,* September 15, 1915. It was referred to the law and legislative committee. At an open meeting held by the committee the proposals were discussed for three hours, where representatives of the "Anti-Jap Laundry League" opposed the resolution. The final decision of the committee was to recommend no action. The nature of the preamble, as well as of the resolutions themselves, however, is such that they merit preservation. Their fate indicates fairly well the state of opinion among the leaders

of organized labor in the state of California. While some are ready for the policy here endorsed, others are still unable to free themselves from the anti-Asiatic attitudes and policies of the past.]

Whereas, unemployment has steadily been increasing year by year in seriousness and extent throughout the United States, involving millions of wage-earners in crushing economic difficulties, interfering with much-needed adjustment of wages to the rising cost of living, and together with other factors causing nation-wide industrial unrest; and

Whereas, This unemployment and unrest are intimately connected with the extraordinary immigration of recent years; and

Whereas, President Wilson's veto of the literacy test immigration bill and the failure of Congress to pass the bill over his veto, make it imperative

(a) That the coming Congress shall again grapple with the immigration problem, which without question is one of the most important as well as one of the most difficult of the many problems before the American people; and also

(b) That a new bill shall be prepared which shall if possible unite all the groups which advocate limitation of immigration; and

Whereas, The tragedy of Europe is producing an economic and industrial condition and a social and political situation that will in the not distant future bring to our land a vast increase in immigration, far beyond the highest figures of recent years; and

Whereas, There is yet no adequate system for the supervision, distribution, employment, and Americanization of immigrants, resulting inevitably in their settling in already congested sections of our large cities, increasing thereby the problem of city government, rendering more difficult their assimilation and exposing them to ruthless and ruinous exploitation; and

Whereas, The coming of unrestricted and unregulated immigration cannot fail to plunge our country into still more serious difficulties of unemployment, industrial disorder, and economic distress, affecting not only the newcomers but also all, both wage-earners and others, however long they or their ancestors may have resided in America; and

Whereas, The true prosperity of the United States requires

(a) The economic welfare of wage-earners through steady employment at suitable wages and under wholesome conditions;

(b) The rapid and real assimilation to American life of all immigrants; and

(c) The maintenance of real democracy in city, state, and national governments; and

Whereas, The awakening of Japan and China, their rapid acquisition of the instruments of modern Occidental civilization, and their development of national self-consciousness and sensitiveness to differential race legislation and treatment that is regarded as invidious and humiliating, introduce a new factor of unquestioned importance into our international relations and require of us an attitude toward and a treatment of those Asiatics in our midst which, while it fully protects our industrial workers and democratic institutions by the rigid exclusion of Asiatic labor, shall also give them full justice and be in harmony with the spirit as well as with the technical wording of our treaties, cultivating thus the mutual friendship and good-will of the nations on both sides of the Pacific; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Labor Council of San Francisco that the time has come for the adoption by the United States of a comprehensive immigration policy, including the general limitation of all immigration and the registration, distribution, employment, education, and naturalization of immigrants, in such a way as to conserve American institutions, protect American labor from dangerous economic competition and promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the peoples of all nations. Be it further

Resolved, That this Council endorses the general principles embodied in the following proposals for a comprehensive immigration policy;

1. That all immigration should be so restricted numerically,

(a) That it may be accurately estimated in advance and properly cared for as it passes through our ports of entry;

(b) That it may be promptly distributed and employed, and

(c) That its coming may be so adjusted as to cause no serious economic embarrassment to the welfare of the wage-earning class.

2. That the true principle by which to limit immigration is by making immigration depend on the capacity of newcomers to learn the English language, assimilate themselves to the democratic ideals and institutions of America and become loyal citizens.

3. That America should admit as immigrants from any land or race no more than she can Americanize and incorporate into her industrial and economic system and body politic. The admissible number of newcomers from any land should depend closely on the number of those from that land who have already proved their capacity for assimilation by having become American citizens.

4. That the maximum annual immigration from any land should be limited to a definite per cent. (say five) of those from that land now resident in the United States,

(a) Who have already become naturalized, and

(b) Also their children who have become voting citizens.

5. That after each census a new table of maximum admissible immigration should be reported to Congress by the Commissioner of Immigration, but the old table should remain in force until the new one is specifically authorized by Congress.

6. That all aliens traveling or residing in the United States should be registered and should annually re-register until they either leave the country or become citizens, paying an annual fee of say ten dollars. For carrying out this provision a federal bureau of registration should be established.

7. That facilities should be provided for the rapid and adequate learning by aliens of the English language, the history of the American people and its democratic ideals, institutions, and practises. For the carrying out of this provision a federal bureau of alien education should be established, which should set national standards, prepare text-books, and hold examinations, the actual instruction to be entrusted, however, to the care of state and city educational authorities. It is desirable that the education should be voluntary and the examinations free. Also that the annual registration fee should be reduced, say by one dollar, for every examination passed.

8. That the present educational standards for naturalization for citizenship are quite inadequate. These should be materially advanced and should be the standards provided for in the preceding section. Certificates of graduation from the bureau of education and of good behavior from the bureau of registration should be required for all candidates for naturalization.

9. That the eligiblity of aliens to American citizenship should be based entirely on the personal qualifications of candidates. The American Federation of Labor knows neither race nor creed in its advocacy of human rights and opportunity. It stands for the economic progress and political enfranchisement of all labor in the United States.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be passed up to the annual meeting of the California State Federation of Labor, with the request that they be endorsed and passed on to the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor for adoption by the national organization.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

1. The general relation of the Americans and Japanese in California is gradually improving. Although the Japanese, many of them, have still much to learn in adapting themselves to their American environment, they have already made no little progress. The good qualities of the Japanese are more generally recognized. In consequence of these facts the mutual personal treatment is growing better. Japanese assure me that stone-throwing has practically ceased. The ability of increasing numbers of Japanese to speak English is no doubt an important factor.

2. The number of Japanese who definitely desire to become American citizens was a matter of frequent inquiry. In spite of the common assertion by Americans that no Japanese would or could expatriate himself, I found it was not so. Both Japanese law and wide-spread popular opinion in Japan allow it, and not a few Japanese who have long resided in California, Oregon, and Washington, and plan to remain there permanently, desire the privilege. I found also many Americans who hold that, when duly qualified by adequate residence and education, Japanese would make excellent citizens.

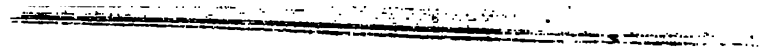
3. Many representatives of organized labor were much more open-minded and ready to consider, and even to endorse, my general proposals than I had been led to expect by those who professed to know the mind and spirit of these men. This is especially true when they learn that the proposed policy will not only prevent the coming of large immigration from Asia, but will also rigidly restrict immigration from any land not already largely represented by naturalized American citizens.

4. There is, however, opposition to the proposal by certain strong leaders of organized labor. It is based partly upon their comparative satisfaction with the effects of present Chinese exclusion laws and the "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan, partly upon their failure to see need in our international relations for any change in our methods of dealing with Asiatics, and partly upon their belief that Asiatics, because they are Asiatic, are inherently incapable of ever entering wholesomely into our democratic government, social institutions, or economic and industrial life. They fail, however, to see that the proposed policy provides more acceptably for the whole problem than does the present policy and method.

5. The new Oriental policy, when understood, meets with the approval apparently of about eight or nine out of ten of the responsible citizenship of the Pacific Coast with whom I have met.

6. In spite, however, of considerable hearty approval of the proposed new Oriental policy, I found surprising hesitancy on the part of responsible groups to endorse and advocate the matter in any public way. It cannot be said that the people of California as a whole have yet heard or considered it. For this hearing it will doubtless be necessary that some strong group or political leader shall espouse the cause and secure for it wide backing.

This no doubt will come in time, as the new Orient becomes more familiar to our people and the need becomes more manifest of recognizing in our Oriental policy the new character and the awakening life of the Far East.



APPENDIX VIII

EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION AND PROTOCOL BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

of February 21, 1911

[This treaty consists of eighteen articles, all of which bear on some aspect of commerce and navigation. The essence of the treaty lies in the repeated assertion of reciprocal rights and privileges and treatment on the basis of equality with the "most favored nation." For simplicity and brevity only the relevant parts of the treaty are here reproduced.]

His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the United States of America, being desirous to strengthen the relations of amity and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations, and believing that the fixation in a manner clear and positive of the rules which are hereafter to govern the commercial intercourse between their respective countries will contribute to this most desirable result, have resolved to conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation.

Article I.—The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade, upon the same terms as native subjects or citizens, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established.

They shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatever, to pay any charges or taxes other or higher than those that are or may be paid by native subjects or citizens.

The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive, in the territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native subjects or citizens, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the native subjects and citizens.

Article IV.—There shall be between the territories of the two high contracting parties reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation. The subjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties,

equally with the subjects or citizens of the most favored nation, shall have liberty freely to come with their ships and cargoes to all places, ports, and rivers in the territories of the other which are or may be opened to foreign commerce, subject always to the laws of the country to which they thus come.

Article V.— . . . Neither contracting party shall impose any other or higher duties or charges on the exportation of any article to the territories of the other than are or may be payable on the exportation of the like article to any other foreign country.

Nor shall any prohibition be imposed by either country on the importation or exportation of any article from or to the territories of the other which shall not equally extend to the like article imported from or exported to any other country. . . .

Article VIII.— . . . There shall be perfect equality of treatment in regard to exportation. . . .

Article IX.— . . . the intention of the contracting parties being that in these respects the respective vessels shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

Article XI.—No duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, quarantine, or other similar duties . . . shall be imposed . . . which shall not equally under the same conditions be imposed on national vessels in general or on vessels of the most favored nation.

Article XIII.—The coasting trade of the high contracting parties is excepted from the provisions of the present treaty and shall be regulated according to the laws of Japan and the United States respectively. It is, however, understood that the subjects or citizens of either contracting party shall enjoy in this respect most-favored-nation treatment in the territories of the other.

Article XIV.—Except as otherwise expressly provided in this treaty, the high contracting parties agree that in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor, or immunity which either contracting party has actually granted or may hereafter grant, to the subjects or citizens of any other state shall be extended to the subjects or citizens of the other contracting party . . . on the same or equivalent conditions. . . .

Declaration

In proceeding this day to the signature of the treaty of commerce and navigation, . . . the undersigned has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with

equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the laborers to the United States.

(Signed) Y. UCHIDA.

February 21, 1911.

[Being a treaty of commerce and navigation, it contains nothing in regard to immigrants and their property and other rights. Reciprocity is its one recurring emphasis in regard to every item that is taken up. Article I, singularly enough, omits the purchase and ownership of land as one of the rights to be mutually enjoyed in the pursuit of trade.]

APPENDIX IX

THE CALIFORNIA ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAW

An act relating to the rights, powers and disabilities of aliens and of certain companies, associations and corporations with respect to property in this state, providing for escheats in certain cases, prescribing the procedure therein, and repealing all acts or parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict herewith.

[Approved May 19, 1913.]

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SEC. 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit, and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

SEC. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in Section 1 of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy, and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this state for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 3. Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other state or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy, and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this state for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 4. Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee can not take real property in this state which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such real property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said real property to be made in the manner provided by

law for probate sales of real property, and the proceeds of such sale shall be distributed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such real property.

SEC. 5. Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of the state of California. The attorney-general shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section 474 of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the state of California. The provisions of this section and of Sections 2 and 3 of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner.

SEC. 6. Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the state of California. The attorney-general shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in Section 5 of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold, or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the state for the amount therof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest in the manner provided by section 1271 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the state shall be paid into the state treasury, and the balance shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein.

SEC. 7. Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the state to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property in this state.

SEC. 8. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent, or in conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

APPENDIX X

RÉSUMÉ OF THE DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCES AND CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES RELATIVE TO THE CALIFORNIA ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAW

Anti-Japanese bills were introduced into the California State Legislature every year for a period of more than ten years. Owing however, to wise counsel and cooperation on the part of the governments and people of both the United States and Japan, nothing serious occurred until 1913. In that year among thirty such bills, the one dealing with questions of landownership and leasing was passed.

On account of the frequency of such bills the government and people of Japan had become deeply wounded. When accordingly the Webb bill was proposed and seemed likely to pass, the Japanese government interposed its objections. After the bill became law, it entered its diplomatic protests and sought a rectification of the situation. The record of that procedure merits study by those who desire the maintenance of international friendship based on good neighborliness.

The important features of the Act are as follows:

1. Aliens who are eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may, equally with citizens, acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit, devise, and inherit real property and any interest therein.

2. Aliens, who are not eligible to citizenship may acquire, possess, and transfer real property and any interest therein, to the extent prescribed by existing treaties between the United States and the country of which such aliens are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise.

Corporations, a majority of whose members are aliens ineligible to citizenship, or a majority of whose stock is owned by such aliens, are treated the same as ineligible aliens.

3. Any real property and any interest therein, acquired in violation of the Act, to escheat to the state.

4. Aliens and alien legal persons belonging to the class mentioned in Section 2 are permitted to lease land for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

The law, it will be noted, takes adroit advantage of the fact that Japanese are not now regarded by our courts as eligible for citizenship, to deprive them of certain economic advantages which are granted to aliens of other nations. It is this invidiously discriminatory phase of the law which forms the main issue between the Japanese and the United States. The Japanese government claims that it is "unjust, unfair, and in conflict with the treaty."

On March 5, 1913, Viscount Chinda conveyed to President Wilson the message of his government to the effect that the proposed bills pending in the California State Legislature, if passed, would have serious effect on the friendship of the two countries. President Wilson promised to do all that he possibly could. On March 13, Secretary Bryan gave the ambassador the same assurances.

On April 12, Ambassador Chinda conferred again with Secretary Bryan and on April 15 with President Wilson.

"The ambassador stated that the number of the Japanese and their activities in California were greatly exaggerated by the public, and he declared that the acreage of the land owned by them was too small to justify any apprehension or uneasiness on the part of the people of California, and in these circumstances, the Imperial Government could not, he said, understand why the lawful rights of Japanese must be curtailed or abridged by such unjust and extraordinary enactments, and he added that such discrimination was likely to bring deplorable consequences to the relations of friendship as well as to the commercial intercourse between Japan and the United States, and that for the sake of the honor and dignity of the country, if for no other reason, the Imperial Government could not remain indifferent to such unfair treatment of their people. The ambassador then asked the President and the Secretary of State that greater efforts be made by the federal government to prevent the passage of the measure in question."

Both the Secretary and the President assured the ambassador that the representations made by him would be given most sympathetic consideration, and the best efforts of the United States government be made with a view to bring about an amicable settlement of the question and they asked him to bring this attitude on their part to the notice of his government, so that it might be thoroughly understood by them.

On April 18, Secretary Bryan telegraphed the governor of California urging that no attempt should be made (having in view

the good relations with a friendly Oriental power) to use the formula of eligibility to citizenship for the purpose of drawing a distinction between aliens in the matter of the enjoyment of rights.

Three additional telegrams were sent the governor on April 22, May 1, and May 11. Meanwhile, Viscount Chinda had several interviews with the Secretary of State and endeavored to cause the contention of the Imperial Government to be fully appreciated by the United States government. He repeatedly explained that the bill then pending was evidently aimed at the exclusion of Japanese people and was, consequently, in disregard of the letter and spirit of the treaty, and he urged that no matter what the wording of the Act might be, any law, which would in effect be discriminatory and therefore offensive to Japanese, ought not, in good neighborhood, to be enacted.

When it became evident at Washington that the California state legislature was not likely to heed the advice of the federal government, with the consent of Governor Johnson and the legislature, Secretary Bryan went to California for purposes of direct personal consultation, reaching Sacramento April 28. His visit, however, was without effect. The bill was immediately passed.

On May 10, Ambassador Chinda lodged the first formal note of protest. That protest has been summarized as follows:

"The note pointed out, with particular emphasis, that the Act in question was not only essentially unfair and discriminatory, but was inconsistent with the treaty provisions and was also opposed to the spirit and fundamental principles of amity and good understanding, upon which the conventional relations of the two countries depended. Then again, it was specifically argued that the enactment in question was unjust and contrary to the treaty provisions, not only in depriving Japanese of the right to transmit to their legal heirs their already lawfully acquired landed property, but in several other respects. In conclusion the hope was expressed that, in view of the sympathetic and accommodating disposition, with which the American administration had always befriended the Japanese government, the present difficulties would be set at rest in a manner worthy of the historic relations of cordial friendship between the two neighboring nations."

The following day, Secretary Bryan telegraphed Governor Johnson asking him to delay his signature in order to give time for diplomatic efforts to solve the matters at issue.

On May 14, Governor Johnson replied by telegram that the people of California had violated no treaty. He signed the Act, May 19, 1913. On that very day Secretary Bryan handed the Ambassador a reply to the protest of May 10. Secretary Bryan's reply has been summarized as follows:

"It began by stating that the United States government regretted that the Japanese government should regard the legislation in question as an indication of unfriendliness towards their people and that the President and the Secretary of State had very earnestly attempted to induce the legislative authorities of California to reconsider the matter. Then the reply endeavored to explain that the enactment was without any political significance, but was solely the result of particular economic conditions existing in California. It was pointed out, in response to the Japanese contention, that the declared intention of the law was to respect and preserve all rights under existing treaties, and that in case of failure to accomplish that intent, the aggrieved Japanese would have the right to resort to the federal courts for the enforcement of their rights. It was added, in conclusion, that the economic policy of a single state with regard to a single kind of property, could not turn aside the strong and abiding currents of generous and profitable intercourse and good understanding between the two nations."

The reply not only did not say whether or not the United States government regarded the law as in conflict with the treaty, which was the contention of the Japanese government, but did not show any disposition to test the validity of the law in court.

On June 4, the Japanese government accordingly entered its second protest, in reply to Secretary Bryan's note of May 10, setting forth at length the contention of the Japanese government. The following day, the ambassador presented to President Wilson a full statement of the case. This has been summarized as follows:

"As Japan and the United States are geographically destined to be permanent neighbors, the people of the two countries are inevitably in a position to be brought in future, economically and socially, into closer contact with each other and that, as it would contribute to the mutual happiness of the two nations to perfect the relationship of good neighborhood by a policy of reciprocal conciliation and cooperation, each nation, aspiring to be fair and just, should not commit any acts which might hurt the dignity or injure the feelings of the other. The President, who listened to the reading of the memorandum, declared that he was fully

alive to the importance of maintaining the good relations between the two nations and explained at length, as did also the Secretary of State, that the enactment in question was purely based on economic considerations and was not the outcome of racial prejudice. He also added that if on further study, the law should be found to be in conflict with treaty provisions, the administration would be prepared to seek a judicial remedy, and that, even in case a suit should not be instituted, means would be sought to compensate Japanese for any loss which they might have actually sustained."

On July 3, Ambassador Chinda handed to Secretary Bryan a more complete statement of the case, called an *Aide Memoire,* as supplementary to the protest of June 4.

On July 16, Secretary Bryan presented to Ambassador Chinda the reply of the American government to the Japanese statements and arguments. It was a long document arguing in detail the point raised by the Japanese government. It offered three suggestions:

(1) In case the aggrieved Japanese should bring suit in the United States courts, the American government would stand ready at all times to use their good offices to secure prompt and efficacious determination; (2) the United States government would stand ready to compensate Japanese for any loss which they might show to have actually sustained on account of the statute; or (3) to purchase from them their lands at their full market value, prior to enactment of the statute.

The Japanese government, regarding the American reply as "far from satisfactory," prepared a third note of protest which was presented August 26, which has been summarized as follows:

"The Act in question established a discrimination of a most marked and invidious character against Japan by depriving Japanese of the right of landownership, while freely continuing the same right, not only in favor of the citizens of all the other powers with which the United States maintains reciprocal treaty relations, but in favor of many non-treaty aliens, and that whatever causes might have been responsible for the measure, it could not be denied that, in its final manifestation, it was clearly indicative of racial prejudice, nor could any justification for the Act be found in the simple assertion that the legislation was the outcome of economic conditions, and it was, moreover, pointed out that the question of immigration, which the Secretary of State referred to in his last note, had nothing whatever to do with the

present controversy, as that question was satisfactorily adjusted between the two governments a few years ago, and that the present controversy related exclusively to the question of the treatment of the Japanese subjects who are lawfully in the United States or may hereafter lawfully become residents therein."

Reviewing the case up to this point, the Japanese government made the following statement:

"The correspondence as reviewed shows that the United States government are not disposed to take issue whether the Act in question is in conflict with the existing treaty provisions or not. Nor are they ready to go beyond suggesting a few trivial remedies in the case. It appeared to the Imperial Government that a fundamental solution of the question could, in these circumstances, only be found in the conclusion of a new supplementary convention designed to cure the existing treaty."

Prolonged negotiations, covering ten months followed, in efforts to draft a new convention. These negotiations were, however, without result. On June 10, 1914, Ambassador Chinda handed to Secretary Bryan the following telegraphic instructions received from Baron Kato, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Department of Foreign Affairs,
June 9, 1914.

"Among the more important pending questions that confronted me when I assumed charge of this department, was the issue resulting from the enactment last year of the legislature of California respecting alien real property ownership. The measure, as you are aware, undertook, in effect, to draw a distinction in the matter of such ownership between aliens belonging to different races. The avowed purpose of the law was, on the one hand, to annul the then existing right of ownership so far as Japanese subjects were concerned, and, on the other, to continue the right in favor of aliens of the white and black races.

"I have given the subject my most serious consideration and am consequently well satisfied that the enactment in question, is not only in disregard of the letter and spirit of the existing treaty between Japan and the United States, but is essentially unfair and invidiously discriminatory against my countrymen, and inconsistent, as well, with the sentiments of amity and good neighborhood which have always presided over the relations between the two countries; nor can I escape the conviction that said enactment, which was intended to have international effect, is also in

excess of the authority of the state of California, for the reason that the separate states of the United States are, internationally speaking, wholly unknown and entirely without responsibility. In any case, the Imperial Government are confident that the action complained of stands without historical parallel, and they are happy to believe that the legislation in question forms no part of the general policy of the federal government but is the outcome of unfortunate local conditions.

"I, therefore, fully concur in the views which you, in pursuance of instructions from my predecessor, presented to the Honorable the Secretary of State on the subject. I also cordially appreciate the motives which, in the interest of international conciliation and good-will, induced Baron Makino to give favorable consideration to the idea of concluding a convention regarding the matter. But the project, as it stands at the present time, instead of composing existing misunderstandings, would I fear tend to create new difficulties.

"Accordingly, you are instructed to inform Mr. Bryan that the Imperial Government are disinclined to continue the negotiations looking to the conclusion of a convention, on the lines of the project which has been under discussion, but that they prefer to recur to the correspondence which was interrupted by the ineffective negotiations and that they will now look for an answer to the note which you handed to Mr. Bryan on the 26th of August last, hoping that in a renewal of the study of the case a fundamental solution of the question at issue may happily be found.

"The negotiations looking to an adjustment of the matter in dispute by means of a convention having failed, the advantage of still withholding from the public the correspondence that has passed between the two governments on the subject is no longer apparent. You are, consequently, also instructed to announce to the Secretary of State that the Imperial Government desire to make public the correspondence in question, believing that fuller and more accurate information regarding the matter will contribute to the final settlement of the controversy.

"You are authorized, in carrying out the above instructions, to hand a copy of this note to Mr. Bryan."

On June 26, both the Japanese and American governments published the relevant documents. So far as is known no further correspondence has taken place between the two governments on the questions at issue. Apparently they have reached a diplomatic *impasse*. The Japanese government is still awaiting a reply from the American government.

APPENDIX XI

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE YU-AI-KAI OF JAPAN TO THE CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR AND TO PRESIDENT GOMPERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The following documents are of historic value. They constitute the first official communications from organized labor in Japan to organized labor in America:

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, Oct. 9, 1916.

To the California Federation of Labor.

DEAR COMRADES:

In renewing the pleasant and profitable experience I had at the conference of the California Federation of Labor held at Santa Rosa last year, I convey to you, in the name of the *Yu-Ai-kai,* the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, my heartiest greetings.

I am especially happy to tell you that I am authorized by the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, of which I am president, to convey to you a felicitous message which I trust will be received in the spirit of comradeship in which it is addressed. I am authorized to ask you to send a delegate of your organization to the celebration of the fifth aniversary of the establishment of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, which will be held at Tokyo next spring.

To us the anniversary is of great significance. Our society has experienced many vicissitudes and hardships. Although we are still in a period of severe trial, we have reached a happy stage wherein we may confidently say that our society has been placed upon a firm base. It will, therefore, be with great pride and satisfaction that we shall commemorate the fifth anniversary. We wish not only to make the occasion impressive, but to utilize it as a means to further our cause and to convince all classes of our countrymen that trade unionism is in Japan to stay.

With this in view, we are anxious to have at the celebration representatives of the California Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor. I am going to address President Gompers, requesting him to cross the ocean with your delegate.

There is another equally important reason why we wish to have your delegates visit Japan next year. We are anxious to

have you inspect our mines and factories and study for yourselves the real labor condition in our country. It will do great good if your labor leaders address our workers at various mining and industrial centers. I have no doubt that your words of encouragement will awaken them and open to them a new vista through which they may see a brighter future for the labor movement in Japan.

Nor can your visit fail to make good impressions upon the conservative classes of the Japanese people. If they listen to your sane, constructive views, they will come to understand that the labor movement is nothing to be feared, but something to be encouraged and fostered.

All these considerations have persuaded me to present this invitation to you. Nothing can make us happier than your acceptance of the invitation, for it comes from the hearts of 25,000 members of our society.

We hesitate to address this invitation to any specific person, for we presume that a delegate, if this invitation be accepted, must be elected by vote. May we, however, venture the opinion that Comrade Paul Scharrenberg would be a man eminently well qualified for the mission? But that is a matter which we would leave to your own judgment. If this invitation be referred to a committee, I shall be happy to explain to the committee further details as to our plans, with special reference to the expenditure which the trip of your delegate will require.

Yours most fraternally,

BUNJI SUZUKI,
President, Yu-Ai-Kai.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, October 9, 1916.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR PRESIDENT GOMPERS:

I have recently arrived in San Francisco, to attend the convention of the California Federation of Labor at Eureka as the representative of the *Yu-Ai-kai*, the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan. It gives me great pleasure to tell you that I was most courteously received at the convention. It will afford me still greater pleasure to renew the pleasant and profitable experience I had at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco last year.

The experience and knowledge I gained during my sojourn in this country last year has proved to be a great assistance in furthering the cause of labor in my country. During the past year I have been constantly traveling in Japan; as the result, the membership of the Yu-Ai-kai increased from 10,000 to 30,000. A year ago we had only twenty-one branches of the Yu-Ai-kai; to-day, there are seventy branches. The real extent of our success, however, cannot be amply represented in the number of members and branches of the Yu-Ai-kai. Its true significance lies in the psychological effect which the movement has created upon the masses of my country.

Next year the Yu-Ai-kai enters upon the fifth year of its establishment. In April or May, next year, the Yu-Ai-kai is to have a great conference commemorating the fifth anniversary of its inauguration. It is our earnest desire to make the occasion most impressive, and to utilize it as a means of advancing our cause. I have with me a formal invitation addressed to you from the Yu-Ai-kai, requesting your presence at the anniversary. I shall personally present this invitation to you upon my arrival at Baltimore. In the meantime, I wish to assure you that the acceptance by you of this invitation will prove a great encouragement to our members.

I am sure that your visit to Japan will not only assist in the promotion of the labor movement in my country, but will make most favorable impressions upon the conservative classes of the Japanese. Your statesmanship and constructive views will go a long way towards convincing the conservative elements of our officialdom and plutocracy that the labor movement is nothing to be feared but something which must necessarily accompany industrial development and has to be fostered and guided in the right direction. At the same time, your encouraging utterances before the workers of Japan will be a great stimulus to the advancement of the Yu-Ai-kai.

I have another consideration in my mind in extending our invitation to you. There are in my country a large number of people who really believe that the United States is determined to wage war—an aggressive war—against Japan, no matter how conciliatory Japan may be in adjusting the immigration question. They think that America's expanding industry and her increasing wealth are bound to seek outlet in China where Japanese enterprise may be driven to the wall, because Japan has but limited resources and capital. They believe that America is becoming

more and more imperialistic and will not be satisfied simply by enforcing the Monroe Doctrine, but will stretch her hands across the seas. I hope that you will understand the situation. With the question of "preparedness" uppermost in American minds and with so many of your newspapers holding up my country as a possible enemy before the public, it is but natural that many of my countrymen should entertain the fear that America will, sooner or later, declare war upon Japan. To you, who know the real situation, this fear on the part of the Japanese may seem absurd, but the fear is real. You will agree with me that all wars come from just such misunderstandings. At this critical moment you will do a great service to the cause of humanity if you will cross the Pacific and bring the message of peace and friendship from the masses of your country to the masses of my country. I want you to assure my countrymen that the masses of your country will never be beguiled or duped by the "big interests" to provoke hostility against my country. I feel sure that such a message, conveyed by such an influential man as you, will go a long way toward alleviating the fear of the Japanese.

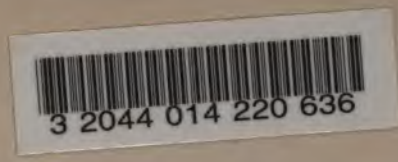
I am happy to tell you that a similar invitation which I extended to the California Federation of Labor, has unanimously been accepted at the Eureka conference. Mr. Paul Scharrenberg will be the official delegate to visit Japan next year, while a number of others will probably accompany him. Nothing will disappoint my comrades in Japan more keenly than your declination of this invitation. Upon my arrival in Baltimore I shall present to you the formal invitation, and will submit to you the details concerning our anniversary celebration and the trip of the delegates.

In the meantime, I wish to convey to you my best regards and highest esteem,

Yours very sincerely,

BUNJI SUZUKI,

President, Yu-Ai-Kai.



This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

DUE APR 20 1994

DEC 29 1994

CANCELLED

WIDENER

DEC 8 1991

BOOK DUE